

JPRS-EER-86-082

3 JUNE 1986

# East Europe Report

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3 JUNE 1986

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AGRICULTURE

POLAND

# MAJOR INVESTMENT POLICY CHANGES URGED TO AID AGRICULTURE

Warsaw WIES WSPOLCZESNA in Polish No 2, Feb 86 pp 28-37

[Article by Wladyslaw Szymanski: "Economic Policy and Its Effects on the Development of Polish Agriculture"]

[Text] The Effects of Extensive Development on Agriculture

Economic conditions in agriculture are a derivative of the overall economic situation and above all the conditions found in nonagricultural sectors of the economy. These conditions are the result of long-term economic policy and an adequate system of economic policy. The centralized economy that existed in 1950-81 is now being critically viewed. Long-term extensive development and lack of progress in the growth of efficiency were the result of program errors and weaknesses in the management system. The centralized system played a positive role only in the starting period of intensive industrialization when it was necessary to concentrate resources to develop new industries, when industrialization made it necessary to accumulate resources by making sacrifices in other areas and when drastic changes in the structure of production, trades and urban life were necessary. Once the new structures were created and efficiency, equilibrium and quality became the leading tasks of our economy, centralized planning and administration began to limit growth to an every-increasing degree. This system generated a type of development that required more and more investments. Not only did it fail to limit material and energy consumption, but it actually increased the demand for these resources and made it impossible to create a more flexible production apparatus and conditions for a good and balanced market.

In observing how the economic policy and the system of functioning introduced after the war have influenced the growth of Polish agriculture over the last 40 years, we can see how much this influence has varied. During the first period, the effects were mostly positive ones. Intensive industrialization, agricultural reform and the settlement of the recovered western territories made it possible to solve what had once been the most urgent problems of Polish agriculture. The possibilities of employment outside of agriculture and the settlement of the recovered lands eliminated overpopulation of farms and rural unemployment. Educational establishments contributed much to giving rural youth a better start in life. Farm overpopulation and low demand for

agricultural products are different sides of the same problem and were two of the chief concerns of Polish agriculture in the period between world wars. Industrialization and a constant rise in nonagricultural employment not only helped to eliminate farm overpopulation but also contributed to the enormous increase in the market's absorption of agricultural products. A chronic excess of demand for agricultural products over their supply became a lasting and important characteristic of the economic conditions under which agriculture functioned in the postwar period.

The demand for the agricultural work force and products is favorable for agricultural growth only when the economy can offer farmers the right prices and income and the necessary supply of industrial articles which will in turn allow farmers to produce enough food to meet the growing demand. This means an increase in the supply of resources necessary to a direct growth in production but also the resources needed to change methods of agricultural production when farms are constantly losing people to other economic sectors.

Unfortunately, it can be said that extensive, investment-intensive types of economic growth generate demand for the farm work force and enormous demand for agricultural products. At the same time, this type of growth cannot maintain a proper supply of means of production to guarantee the right amount of progress in the modernization and growth of agriculture. A characteristic of extensive and investment-intensive development is the overly-high disproportion between production commitment and activity, its final results and the high internal consumption of production. From the same production of basic materials and energy we have gained significantly fewer final (consumer and investment) products. The expression of this type of development is above all the fact that our economy is presently more than 250 percent more energy-intensive than the economies of western European nations. We use 250 percent more steel and twice as much cement as those countries and have a more than three times greater turnover of products and shipment in ton-kilometers per unit of national income.

Under the above conditions, extensive development required an enormous growth in production of basic materials per unit of growth in national income. This therefore compelled high and capital-intensive investments made at the expense of production of consumer articles. At the same time, the enormous share of material-producing industries sectors has given preference to high employment in those sectors at the expense of employment in industries producing consumer goods. This has created enormous inflationary pressure and makes it difficult to balance the market. Work forces cannot be shifted to modern production and services if a high level of internal consumption of materials and inefficiency in their production absorb a large amount of labor. Such an employment structure is clearly inflation-prone because it gives preference to employment in sector I (production of the means of production) at the expense of sector II (production of consumer goods). The wage preference given sector I and the poor equipment and low productivity in sector II has created an excess of demand over the supply of consumer goods and services. This material- and energy-intensive type of development was encouraged by the formation of industrial pressure groups. Branch particularism in the postwar period has contributed to the privileged status given the development of heavy industry

and material production and growth investments made at the cost of modernization and to the preference given investment expansion at the cost of balance and efficiency. The ideas that were correct in the first few postwar years have now been applied to the entire 40 years since then.

On the one hand, this type of development contributed to the continuing demand for labor from farms needed for the growing materials industries. On the other hand, however, the poor growth of industries producing consumer goods and the constant imbalance and inflationary tendencies have maintained a continuous excess of demand over supply of agricultural products.

This type of development not only maintained pressure or a high level of investment but also tended to increase the amount of inefficient long-term investments at the expense of modernization and development of newer industries and this in turn helped to more firmly establish material-intensive structures and imbalance. Imbalance making pressure for efficiency impossible helped to maintain the high material intensiveness of industry and the old structures. Preferences for material and energy investments had to limit investments not only on industrial production of consumer goods and so-called human investments but also any investments on agriculture or the food industries. This largely explains the chronic inability of industry to keep up with the needs of agriculture and the constant poor adaptation of the food industry to the present development of agriculture's material base. With such a high level of commitment of investment resources to the material and energy industries, there was a shortage of resources in all other areas of the economy. Competition for resources was sharp and this too led to reduced investments in agriculture and the food industry in general. In spite of the national income's high percentage of investment and the large percentage of investment on production, the high degree of material- and energy-intensiveness made it difficult not only to manage proper investments on the B-group industries (consumer goods) and agriculture but also the investments in sector III (trade, housing and other nonproductive spheres).

From an agricultural point of view, this was very significant. A low level of efficiency limiting the money spent on so-called human investments has above all led to fewer opportunities for any growth in housing construction. Underdevelopment of housing construction strongly limited the mobility of our work force. For agriculture, the poor level of housing construction strongly reduced worker migration from farms and this led to the tendency for farmers to have two professions, produced enormous costs for transportation to and from work and forced the rural population to bear the heavy cost of housing construction. A poor level of housing construction also caused a significant growth in the percentage of nonfarmers living in rural areas (from 20 to over 50 percent).

Bearing the expense of transportation to and from work, having less time for relaxation and combining farming with jobs in industry is not only the invaluable contribution that our peasant-workers made to the industrialization of the country but was also the result of extensive growth and poor progress in increasing efficiency.

The persistence of two professions on farms which has chiefly been the result of the inability to migrate has been one of the most significant barriers to improvement of the agrarian structure and the modernization of agriculture.

Extensive development has contributed strongly to reducing the classic pressure for lowering costs and to diminishing the productivity and improvement of the agrarian structure. This pressure has manifested itself only when the barrier of demand was encountered on the agricultural market. The demand barrier limits possibilities for a rise in purchase prices and this in turn eliminates producers that operate under higher costs and lower productivity. One of the chief means of raising productivity and lowering costs is improving the agrarian structure. Meanwhile, under extensive forms of development, a chronic phenomenon is high income flexibility in the demand for food. A continually and rapidly growing demand for food articles is then the result of poor development of nonagricultural consumer goods and services. This phenomenon is enhanced when price policy is aimed at redistributing income. This leads to relatively low food prices in relation to the prices of other items. The continuation of a high and growing demand for food and the large role of agricultural exports makes it necessary to give preferences to increased production rather than increased productivity in agricultural labor. When there is good demand for agricultural products, the goal of agricultural policy becomes the productivity of the land rather than the productivity of farm work. The amount of produce per hectare is very often higher on small farms than but this is often at the expense of productivity and higher costs. However, under conditions of extensive development, it is important that this be production requiring relatively low supplies from industry and that is a condition hard to attain. It is above all significant that extensive development has weakened the mechanism for improving the agrarian structure by causing the labor force to leave agricultural for other areas of employment. The mechanism grows weaker as the natural increment throughout the country and in the rural areas in particular rises. At the same time, extensive development restricts any mechanism for improving the agrarian structure caused by pressure to increase productivity and lower costs. Our obsolete agrarian structure is a clear example of this.

It would be enormously beneficial to agriculture if the the economy were efficient enough to adapt itself to the reforms already instituted and structural changes were made for intensive development and higher efficiency. Above all, the economy would be able to provide greater resources for modernizing agriculture and the increased opportunities to expand housing construction would favor greater migration without harming agricultural production. Greater opportunities to increase industrial production of consumer goods and services and a higher dynamic in real income would increase the demand for agricultural products. This would not threaten the demand for labor from the agricultural sector but only change the structure of the demand (the demand from sector III) and give much greater possibilities to compensate for the loss of labor from farms by introducing modern farming equipment. Intensive development is the dominance of economic compulsion to lower costs and improve quality. This compulsion is the derivative of equilibrium and producer confrontation with demand barriers. After some time, this would limit any possibility for purchase prices to rise and that would have to

increase pressure to lower costs. This would increase the weeding out of weaker producers and create fine incentives for improving the agrarian structure.

#### Mechanism Affecting the Equilibrium and Creating Demand For Food Items

Extensive development, poor quality and lack of progress in achieving efficiency are outwardly expressed in pressure to create excessive expenses in relation to the real potential of the entire economy and in relation to the supply of market goods and services in particular. For agriculture, imbalance is the chief threat to its long-term growth. Persisting imbalance leads to poor regulation and therefore insufficient motivation to produce. The influx of money without the backing of products undermines any sense in obtaining money. When there is a shortage of products, the winner is the one who stands closest to their sources and therefore the direct recipient of deficit goods. Cities are closer to the sources of industrial wares than are the villages. This means that not only do the rural areas suffer from a shortage of consumer goods but also from a shortage of the means of production. This has resulted in an entire system of speculation and abuse.

The profound imbalance on the market has also led to a growth in inefficient allocation of limited resources for agriculture. Wares are bought not only because they are needed but also because this provides an opportunity to spend money. This leads to chaos in the management of production resources. That is why any mechanism creating economic imbalance is so dangerous to agriculture. To a large extent, this comes from the apparent struggle to control inflation (under existing structures which generate that inflation) which is actually an effort to control the rise in prices without reducing spending. That amounts to nothing more than treating symptoms without doing anything about the illness causing them. This cannot help but fail because it does not control inflation but merely changes open inflation (in prices) to hidden inflation which shows itself in forced savings and market imbalance. High spending is a fact and the rise in prices is slowed along with its associated drop in the purchasing power of money and this naturally strangles the economic process. The suppression of inflation is a phenomenon that not only creates worthless money, wastes time and makes any sort of activation senseless but also gives suppliers an advantage on the market, makes it completely possible for purchasers to evaluate the work of suppliers and makes it easier for the cost of wasteful management to be thrown over onto consumers and farmers buying consumer goods and means of production. The above mechanism has a particular effect on agriculture because arbitrary price controls above all affect the retail price of food and the purchase prices of agricultural products.

Close control of food prices has become a factor making food products relatively cheap in comparison to nonagricultural industrial products and this intensifies demand on the agricultural market. This tendency is strengthened by poor growth in the production of other consumer products and that leads to a lasting attitude that many industrial products are higher-category goods and therefore to more use of prices and a means of redistribution rather than as a means of information.



This gives preferences to old values rather than new ones and tends to reinforce the "precipitous approach" from one type of expenditure to another. This also gives preference to the food-clothing-alcohol model. That hinders luxury articles from becoming lower-category articles or these from becoming items of first need. Needs grow much faster than do the possibilities for meeting them which reduces public satisfaction. Persisting inflationary tendencies and the protection of food prices creates intensified pressure to increase prices for other products. If inflation and market balance persist, this threatens not only the continuation of excessive demand on the food market but also violent intensification of this pressure whenever there is any rise in the overall market imbalance. 1981 was a drastic example of this.

### Inflation and Income in Agriculture

It is understandable that when the income of nonagricultural population groups rises due to inflation, there will be constant difficulties in bringing agricultural incomes up to a level matching raised production costs. The slow change of purchase prices after increase in prices and the incomes of nonfarmers is a reflection of how agricultural wages have dropped in relation to those in other sectors. If the drop in agricultural wages exceeds a certain level, this may lead not only to a drop in production activity but also to a drop in material investments on production. Farmers cannot be activated when production is not profitable for them because they can maintain their standard of living by reducing material and investment expenditures.

Recently, the resistance to the latest changes in retail food prices was de facto transformed into resistance to purchase price increases. This resistance means that the change in prices may be delayed and that can have very bad effects on agricultural production. The increase of public resistance to changes in purchase prices always brings the danger that the change in prices will not keep up with the demands of the economy. Inflationary growth of incomes among nonfarmers intensifies the need to change purchase prices for reasons of income (cost of living) above all. However, changes in purchase prices destabilize the system of agricultural prices and cause alarm and insecurity. Inflationary increases in the incomes of nonfarmers and strong resistance to a growth in purchase prices intensifies the danger of price actions aimed at restoring the lost equilibrium rather than at causing desired growth processes in agriculture. The bad effects that inflation has on agriculture are caused by the economy's extensive utilization of labor which in turn leads to continuing demand on the labor market.

Imbalance and lack of mechanisms demanding enough of business make it harder to streamline employment. This has many different effects on the economic situation of agriculture. The ease of finding employment that pays better than agriculture increases sensitivity to all negative incentives and intensifies the results of all types of errors made in agricultural policy. The labor market's receptivity to the female labor force and its loss to work outside of agriculture also has a very bad effect on the interest of male youth in agriculture. This is completely understandable because one cannot have a family farm without a wife.

## The Wage Situation and Agriculture

The wage situation in Poland always has an enormous influence on agricultural conditions because it is what determines the policy on the balance of transactions in agricultural and food articles. The wage situation also determines whatever disproportion may exist between plant and animal production.

A serious increase in the importation of fodder is not dangerous to the economy if it occurs under the following conditions:

-- first of all, if enough of the growing production of livestock is intended for export so as to compensate for the costs of additional export of grain and fodder;

-- second, if the increment in livestock production is not intended for export but for domestic consumption and a rapid increase in industrial exports covers the costs of importing grain and fodder.

One of the main causes of the economic collapse in recent years was the failure to meet the conditions above.

Our industry's poor ability to compete on the world market for many years now has enhanced the importance of agriculture but has also imposed significant restrictions on its growth. At the present time, this has exerted enormous pressure to attain self-sufficiency in food. This pressure, the result of Poland's limited capacity for paying its debts, is so great that we cannot foresee any improvement within the next 15 years. In recent years, there has been more pressure to restrict our agricultural and food imports in order to maintain our industrial imports at the required level. In the next few years, industry will continue to require an enormous amount of imported materials and resources and there will be substantial pressure to limit the import of agricultural supplies and food and further improve our balance of agricultural and food products in order to gain the resources needed to import technology and prevent the decapitalization of our production property. The pressure to improve the food and agricultural balance will be greater the less progress we make in increasing the efficiency of our economy and raising our exports. Considering the limited possibilities for increasing raw material exports and the barriers that we will face to exporting our manufactured products, we should regard a greater orientation toward exporting agricultural products and food as a better long-term opportunity for the Polish economy. If such an orientation is to bring about the desired results, it cannot be limited to the occasional sale of surplus products. We must establish specializations, adapt industry to this and build up an appropriate system of marketing.

A growth in agricultural and food exports is necessary not only for some immediate improvement in our balance of payments but also to make it possible to import some agricultural materials that can then be processed and exported to help pay off our debts. This above all concerns the importation of the scarcest and most effective imports such as protein, plant protection agents and the resources necessary to making greater biological progress.

The goal of our food self-sufficiency policy is therefore not only to balance our agricultural and food transactions but also to balance them on a high level of import and export of agricultural products. Only then will we be able to count on enough imports to guarantee biological progress and a strong growth in the efficiency of livestock production which would be hard to achieve without imported protein.

It has become absolutely necessary to eliminate misunderstandings about the efficiency of agricultural exports which is largely determined by the efficiency of our imports. The world agricultural market is a surplus market in which products are cheaply bought and sold. Regardless of the relatively low selling prices, the export of many Polish agricultural products is effective if we can also cheaply purchase materials such as soybeans and other protein sources which cannot be produced inexpensively within Poland.

### The Crisis and Agriculture

It is natural that whenever there are economic difficulties and many dangerous structural barriers to development, it becomes especially important to determine which areas of our economy are to be protected. These would not only be those areas that have the most importance in satisfying our basic needs and therefore ones that greatly influence the social and political situation. These protected areas are also those that can exert a stimulating and pervasive influence on the entire economy. Agriculture and the entire food industry are unquestionably one of these sensitive areas, not only because they form the basis for our nation's biological security but also because agriculture can also have an enormous and beneficial effect on balancing the market, bringing wages in line with prices and increasing exports and therefore on realizing strategically important tasks in vitalizing our economy. The food industry is a protected sphere most of all due to the enormous effects any collapse in agricultural production might have. Any drop in consumption and income produces a relative increase in the importance of food consumption just like an increase in consumption reduces its significance. Food consumption has lately been restricted with much more difficulty and resistance than any other group of goods or services. For that reason, every additional drop in food consumption is much more keenly felt and has ever-greater social and political consequences.

Under our present situation, the danger of a significant drop in agricultural production is also greater because it would occur under an unbalanced consumer market with unusually restricted possibilities for compensating the drop in agricultural production through extra imports of finished food products. If the difficult economic situation in Poland remains dangerously volatile, a sudden deterioration of agricultural production would be the spark setting off the explosion.

For that reason, the present preferences given agriculture as a protected sector should be seen not only as actions to create a coherent system of stimuli to the growth of this sector but also as a system protecting us against the effects of any eventual drop in production that may be caused by uncontrollable factors such as weather and climate.



For that reason, it is now important to create reserves for our food industry. This is above all important to prevent any negative climatic phenomena from making subjective errors in policy any worse. It is necessary to break away from our past experience of good farm results creating the prerequisite conditions for the making of bad decisions while on the other hand, agricultural difficulties have led to the revision of erroneous past decisions. Recent good results in agriculture and radical limitations to the deficit in our foreign food and agricultural trade cannot soothe fears or convince anyone that we have nothing to fear from this quarter.

We cannot forget that the results of recent years have to a considerable degree been connected with unusually good weather conditions. At no other time in our postwar history have we seen five successive years (1981-1985) of increasing grain crops. In a crisis more than at any other time, the general economic situation is reflected in the possibilities for a growth in agriculture. The chief characteristic of the present situation is enormous difficulties in moving away from investment-intensive development which cannot be continued due to the lack of growth in production resources. To move away from this traditional form of management, we must make serious changes to the structure of investments and accelerate activities aimed at achieving equilibrium and the thorough introduction of an economic mechanism which encourages a high level of efficiency. The enormous difficulties encountered in achieving these changes also threaten agriculture and the food industry.

Unless we make the changes described above, we will face the following harmful consequences in agriculture and the food industry:

- the absorption of investment resources by capital-intensive sectors at the cost of modernization will intensify competition for these investment resources and also increase the danger of a reduced amount of funding available for the food industry;

- the persistence of suppressed inflation and imbalance will intensify the erosion of material incentives for farmers;

- inflationary income increases for nonfarmers under the presently-used procedure for price-setting and growing public resistance will cause another drop in agricultural wages. We must remember that agricultural wages have already been falling for four years not only in the absolute sense but also in comparison to the wages of nonfarmers;

- a drop in wages can only lead to a reduction in current material investments or reduce the profitability of purchasing land and making other such agricultural investments;

- poor efficiency in the management of labor resources throughout our economy can intensify the demand for the agricultural labor force and therefore lead to an increase in negative selection of those remaining on the farms.

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CSO: 2600/388

AGRICULTURE

POLAND

# RESEARCH PROCEEDS ON IMPORTED POULTRY FEED SUBSTITUTION

Warsaw POSTEPY NAUK ROLNICZYCH in Polish No 5, 1984 pp 31-39

[Article by Dorota Jamroz, Wroclaw Agricultural Academy: "Substituting Imported Poultry Feeds With Domestic Components in Protein Mixtures"]

[Excerpts] The intensification of poultry cultivation has produced considerable changes in feeding systems, mainly the use of full-portion or supplementary protein mixtures containing maize and soy-extract meal as their chief components. These feeds, like fish meal and some vitamin and mineral mixtures, are imported. Significant fluctuation in worldwide feed supply and prices has led to the great interest shown in domestic feeds over the last 15 years.

Due to limited feed imports and trouble paying for them, it has been recommended that poultry, especially in the private and small-farm sector, be fed more using local food sources such as green forage and root crops combined with protein concentrates (DKJ [expansion unknown] -- 37 percent of general protein and 2400 kcal of metabolic energy) or supplementary protein mixtures.

In the search for substitutes for hard-to-obtain imported feeds, domestic grains and legume seeds are being reconsidered along with one of the chief sources of domestically-produced feed protein, rape seed extract and full rape grain.

If high-energy maize is substituted by barley or wheat, the energy should be balanced by adding oil to the mixture because Polish grain contains more general protein than maize also has a lower energy value. The introduction to this mixture of a large amount of barley or oats not only increases the level of fiber but also lowers the digestibility of nutrients. High doses of barley considerably stunt the growth of young birds and reduce hen fertility. Barley grain and to a lesser degree rye and oats contain large amounts of the polysaccharides not utilized by birds, galactane and pentozane. The unavailability of these nutrients along with lactoses (such as from dried whey) is caused by the lack of betagalactozydase enzyme in the digestive tract of poultry. If birds are given any larger amounts of rye, they experience diarrhea and digestive disturbances caused by the presence in the grain of alkylrezorcine and often even Caldosporium toxins.

Grains carry not only energy but, because they consist of 10-12 percent and sometimes even as much as 18 percent protein, they also introduce to diet a considerable amount of nitrogen compounds, the best quality of which is supplied by the protein in oats and barley and the worst by wheat. The amino acids limiting the biological value of grain protein are methionine and lysine and also tryptofane in maize and treonine in barley. The wider use of new types of grain rich in nitrogen compounds has made it possible to reduce the amount of high-protein fodder in mixtures.

Dried materials from root crops or potato flakes can provide some energy but because of their unfavorable price ratios, they are not widely used. Potato starch is not well utilized by poultry in comparison to grain starch while starch sugar and drastically broken-down starch can replace grain starch.

More interest is being shown in a feed that has up to now been rarely used with poultry and that is dried corn husks. This feed can be efficiently produced under our own climatic conditions when not all hybrids reach full grain maturity. In feeding geese and geese laying hens, this material has successfully been used to replace about 25-30 percent of the corn grain in full-portion mixtures. The factor that limits using a higher percentage of dried corn husks in poultry feed is the high content of raw fiber which can range from 7.5 to as much as 14-19 percent in relation to how well-formed the cob is and the grain maturity.

Under our climatic and soil conditions, legume seeds might be the cheapest source of protein feed. In relation to the type of plant, the protein content can range anywhere from 22-26 percent in peas and field peas, 24-28 percent in beans [*Vicia faba*] and as much as 38-42 percent in white and yellow lupins. Legume protein is characterized by a shortage of methionine and other sulfurous amino acids. These feeds contain a considerable amount of raw fiber (as much as 14 percent) but are fairly well digested by poultry. The raw fat concentrations are even as high as 8-9 percent. Furthermore, legume seeds contain a series of harmful substances. The overall amount of tannins and mainly tannic acid and gallic acid polymers is from about 560-1400 mg/kg. The proteolytic enzyme inhibitors trypsin and chymotrysin found in seed albumin, link up with proteases in the digestive tract and this reduces proteolytic activity which enlarges the pancreas and disrupts its secretory functions. The effect of these substances varies with the age of the bird. In younger birds, the inhibitors can reduce pancreas activity while in mature birds, the pancreas can be stimulated to secrete enzymes. In legumes, the activity level of the trypsin inhibitor is about 500-1500 units while in peas it may be as high as 2700. Lupin seeds can also contain in polysaccharide fractions galactanes that are unavailable to poultry. The appearance in peas and beans of hemoagglutinins reduces protein digestibility and the hemoagglutinin is 50 percent more active in peas than in beans.

Legume seeds can form up to 20 percent of the mixture fed to chickens and laying hens with no detrimental effects on fertility. Birds can take up to 40 percent peas or lupin in their feed mixture although other authors have indicated that chicken growth is hindered at even 20 percent bean in the feed mixture while fertility is affected at 10 percent.

Yeast obtained from petroleum n-paraffin has been very controversial because of the possibility of contamination by its polycyclic hydrocarbons (such as 3.4 benzopyrene to which has been attributed 1.5-8 percent of carcinogenic effects). The allowable quantity of these substances is 0.6-8 mcg/kg. Pekilo biomass, used successfully to feed poultry, is a cheap and valuable source of feed.

A very widely debated problem is the need to use feed of animal origin such as fish meal in poultry feed. Its rich amino-acid content, abundance of lysine and sulfurous amino acids and a mineral composition very beneficial for animals (especially the micro-element content) make this a very valuable group of feeds. If fish meal is either limited or eliminated from feed mixtures, it is necessary to somehow make up for the lack of amino acids, to accurately balance the B and E vitamins in relation to the norms for Ca and P and to determine the importance of trace elements such as Se, Cr, Ni, etc. The withdrawal of animal feeds of meal made from salted fish has in recent years caused many misunderstandings about the presence of salt in mixtures exceeding even 1.5 percent. Such a high addition of salt is unjustifiable and can even have toxic effects if the birds cannot get enough water. Blood meals are the worst types of feed even if they are high in protein. Blood protein is hard to digest and one-sided in its amino-acid composition and contains much lysine but relatively little sulfurous amino acids and leucines that are such good supplements to dried food made from grasses or papilionaceous plants that are also used to produce full-portion mixtures for poultry, especially ducks and geese. Because of their ununiform chemical composition, meat and bone meal are very different from fish meal in their nutrient value but they can be used as a source of animal protein in amounts anywhere from 2-8 percent.

It must be pointed out that broiler chickens can successfully be raised without animal-origin feeds if care is taken to balance the nutrient content in their feed mixtures and synthetic amino acids are added.

Protein concentrates from alfalfa juice, clover and from potatoes and rape are along with dried whey the assortment of protein feeds that can be substituted for imported soy oil-meal.

This article is only a short review of the given problems. There is still an enormous range of problems concerning mineral ingredients and vitamins, feeding hygiene and the use of domestic feeds and food-industry by-products.

Any substitution of the excellent foods that maize and soy constitute with domestic components can somewhat lower the production results but this assortment of domestically-produced feeds can provide proper nutrition for poultry, sufficient growth in growing chickens and proper hen fertility. Using mixtures containing barley, wheat, meat and bone meal, fodder yeast and mineral or vitamin supplements can produce 8-week broilers weighing about 1.7 kg consuming 2.4-2.7 kg per kg of achieved body weight and about 210-230 eggs from laying hens.

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CSO: 2600/386

ECONOMY

BULGARIA

# SHORTAGE OF EDUCATED, QUALIFIED WORKERS, SPECIALISTS DEPLORED

Sofia PROBLEMI NA TRUDA No 2, 1986 pp 14-22

[Article by Penka Ilieva, senior scientific associate and candidate of economic sciences: "Pressing problems of financial incentives to improve the education and qualifications of working people"]

[Text] Our country's entry into a qualitatively new phase of development during the 9th Five-Year Plan, and through the turn of the century, creates new demands and calls for substantial changes in the existing system of financial incentives to encourage working people to improve the level of their education and qualifications.

Acceleration of scientific, technological and social progress will be the major feature of this development, as the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution are fused with the advantages of socialism as a socioeconomic order.

The February Plenum (1985) of the BCP Central Committee laid the groundwork for the party's global strategy to bring about a modern scientific and technological revolution and developed new party viewpoints and approaches to implement scientific and technological policies as soon as this has been achieved. In the report of the introductory and concluding remarks of Comrade T. Zhivkov at the plenum, the scientific and technological revolution, as a major factor in the logical system of building mature socialism, was unveiled as a key, a super key, to our modern socioeconomic development. "Without the scientific and technological revolution," stressed T. Zhivkov, "it is not possible to build an adequate material and technological base for mature socialism, to improve the welfare of the people, or to ensure the many-faceted development of individual and highly effective self-realization." (Footnote 1) (T. Zhivkov: Some new viewpoints and approaches in the development and implementation of scientific and technological policies in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Sofia, Partizdat, 1985, p 12)

The historical role and significance of the scientific and technological revolution for the socioeconomic development of the socialist member countries of CEMA was unveiled in the complex program adopted by them for scientific and technological progress through the turn of the century. This document specifies the five basic directions that have been given priority for

development: electronics in the national economy, complex automation, accelerated development of atomic power, new materials and technologies and their production and processing, accelerated development of biotechnology. (Footnote 2) (RABOTNICHESKO DELO No. 353, 19 Dec 1985, p 4) These directions are the principles that will guide scientific and technological progress and our country, which is an inseparable component of the socialist commonwealth.

Implementation of the scientific and technological revolution is directly related to the guaranteed supply of qualified personnel, to the level of their educational and professional qualifications, to their creative urge and their ability to accomplish everything with revolutionary changes in equipment, technology, creation of new materials, etc., and with increased productivity and more efficient production. As M. Gorbachev pointed out: "The usual diligence is no longer enough ... Such qualities as competence, a flair for innovation, initiative, daring and willingness to accept responsibility are more and more growing in importance; the skill to take on tasks and bring them to completion; the ability not to lose sight of the political purpose of the job. And ... one more thing: the desire to learn how to work." (Footnote 3) ("Proceedings of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, 23 April 1985, Moscow, Politizdat, 1985, p 20.)

Indicating that the implementation of the scientific and technological revolution depended on the quality of the work force, particularly on the level of education and qualifications of qualified personnel, given the conditions in our country, T. Zhivkov stressed "We must all understand that we cannot implement the scientific and technological revolution if we do not prepare specialists with higher qualifications, if we do not raise the level of education and qualifications of executives... Because training individuals with solid knowledge and a modern professional background, with broad ideological and political minds and creative ability is a /vital and immediate need/ of the scientific and technological revolution under socialism." (Footnote 4) (T. Zhivkov: op cit, p 23)

The demands to raise the level of education and qualifications of working people in Bulgaria are particularly significant for quite another reason -- we are lagging far behind other countries in this regard. Whereas 15 years ago we were among the leading countries in the world with respect to the number of students per 10,000 inhabitants, in 1984 we have one of the worst counts in Europe. The figures for the academic year 1983/84 show that this index in Bulgaria is 97, compared with 194 in the USSR and 117 in Czechoslovakia. The index for certain European capitalist countries in 1982 was: Sweden -- 262, Federal Republic of Germany -- 232, Belgium -- 223, France -- 212 and Denmark -- 208. (Footnote 5) ("Statistical Yearbook of the PRB, 1979, 1985; Statistical Yearbook of the Member Countries of CEMA, 1977, 1984)

The discrepancy between the needs of the economy and the availability of qualified personnel with higher education in Bulgaria will become more acute, both because of the above-mentioned short-fall and because a large contingent of specialists and managers with higher education are nearing retirement age.

As far as qualified personnel with secondary education are concerned, although the trend is more favorable, we are continuing to experience a discrepancy



between the number of these specialists available and the growing needs of the economy for more of them in order to implement the scientific and technological revolution. During the period 1972-1981, the number of workers with a general or specialized secondary education increased more than three-fold. The relative number of workers without secondary education for the same period decreased from 82.9 to 75.4 percent, i.e. by 7.5 points. (Footnote 6) (From the collection "Workers and Employees", Sofia, KESSI, 1974, pp 95-96; 1982, pp 53-57) However, the pace at which these positive changes are occurring is slow, and the quality of education is not in keeping with today's demands, especially with regard to the needs of the directions of the scientific and technological program that have been given priority -- electronics, automation and robot development, atomic power, new materials and technologies, etc. It is also significant that the number of drop-outs in secondary schools is increasing and the number of apprentices is decreasing annually, which accentuates the above-mentioned discrepancies.

Given all this, we need an all-round improvement of the methods used to determine the needs for qualified personnel, from the point of view of education, professional qualifications and age, admission criteria to secondary and higher academic institutions, the structure of the system used to improve the education and qualifications of working people, and the content of the instruction itself, taking into account both the objective needs (present and future), and the capacity of our economy and society. It is also very important to improve the working people's financial incentives to raise the level of their education and qualifications.

In this respect, motivation of the working people is influenced by a number of factors, namely: work content, the degree to which the work is of an intellectual, creative or heuristic nature; working conditions in the broadest sense -- including the extent of technical equipment, complex mechanization and automation, and in the narrowest sense -- sanitary conditions (particularly from the point of view of physical and psychological stress on the job); the prestige and perspectives of the profession and the speciality; the opportunities that the work provides for self-realization, career advancement, advancement in the social hierarchy, etc.

Although at present the principal source of income for working people is the salary, investigations show that in different social groups and categories of personnel the salary plays a varied role as an incentive for improving one's education and qualification, and the general trend is toward a relative decrease in its influence in this motivation. (Footnote 7) (For further details, see "Sociological investigation of the issues of socialist emulation, advanced experiment and technical work", conducted by a group under the leadership of L. Lichev, senior scientific associate and candidate of economic sciences, Sofia, NIIPP, G. Dimitrov, 1983). Obviously, in the future, with the expansion of the objective processes determining the changes in the valuable orientation of the working people, this trend will develop and expand.

For the time being, however, we are observing a decrease in the role of financial incentives (particularly of the salary) to encourage improvement in education and qualifications to an extent that cannot objectively be accounted

for given the present level of our socioeconomic development. The weakening of these incentives tends to increase the discrepancy between the level of education and qualifications of the working people on the one hand and the present and future needs of the scientific and technological revolution and social progress on the other. Even more acute is the problem of incentives that will create a qualified, intellectual reserve, the basis of which, in principle, is a higher educational level.

This is why the February Plenum (1985) of the BCP Central Committee agreed that the important problems of financial incentives for working people to improve the level of their education and qualification should be resolved along with the issues of guaranteeing specialists for the scientific and technological revolution. In his report to the plenum, T. Zhivkov emphasized that the system for improving the education and qualifications of those employed in production is slowly reacting to the new demands stemming from scientific and technological progress. The level of education and qualifications is not sufficiently tied to the aspirations of people to work better, or to receive higher salaries. The present, disorderly system is obsolete and there are no financial incentives for the workers to learn in on-going courses. Managers do not show enough interest in improving their education and qualifications nor in sending the workers and specialists in their production and business units for on-going training. The financial incentives for employees to acquire higher qualifications and invest in highly intellectual, creative, analytical and heuristic work are rather poor.

Accelerated scientific, technological and social progress and the scientific and technological policies of the party, established at the February Plenum, demand a radical improvement in the overall salary structure, including component elements. This is the subject of independent research.

The necessary changes in the system of financial incentives for qualified personnel to improve their education and qualifications concern above all the approach taken to resolve this problem, the principals, methods and forms of financial incentive, salary scales, and certain other issues.

First. With respect to the approach taken to resolve the problem under discussion, we should emphasize, above all, that it is not necessary to construct a special, completely independent system of financial incentives for qualified personnel to improve their education and qualifications. Financial incentives, operating as such, must be built into the overall salary structure and its components. Thus, the overall salary structure will provide an incentive to improve the level of education and qualifications and to use them in the course of work. In as much as it would be possible to talk conditionally of a relatively independent system of financial incentives to achieve higher education and qualifications, the system must be dynamic and flexible, uniform for the national economy, but at the same time distinguishing according to prevailing conditions.

Given the current conditions, implementation of such an approach, to define the level and correlations of salary, demands that the factors of education and qualifications of the work force be brought to the fore in keeping with their objectively growing significance.



Similary, a vital aspect in resolving the problem of financial incentives for qualified personnel to improve their education and qualifications is finding the criteria in correlating these factors for setting and distinguishing salary and other factors, such as the complexity, responsibility and sanitary working conditions, work intensity, etc. In the methodological and applied plan, it is particularly important, on the one hand, to recognize the growing role and significance of the quality of the work force, its education and qualifications and, on the other hand, not to underestimate the other factors that bring an objective influence to bear, including "shortage in the work force", the influence of which will increase in the not too distant future, both on account of the irregular growth of the scientific and technological revolution in the sectors, subsectors and jobs and for demographic reasons.

Another important aspect in the approach to improving the financial incentives of working people for the improvement of their education and qualifications is the need to preserve objective ties between the factors, namely: 1) to determine and evaluate the degrees of complexity (and responsibility) of the work performed and to group them similarly to the existing objective hierarchy of these jobs; 2) on this basis to determine the objectively needed (in content and degree) education and qualifications and to construct a qualifications scale (corresponding to the scale for complexity and responsibility) of work functions; 3) to draw up a salary scale (expressed in absolute levels, indices or coefficients) which should correspond structurally to the first two scales but should also, in determining salaries, take into account the influence of a series of other factors, such as the capacity of the country, the policies of minimum and mean wages, distribution through public resources, the shortage in the work force in certain professions and specialties, etc. In connection with this, it is imperative to stress two aspects. First, that the salary scale (however it is worked out) is based objectively on the other two scales -- of complexity of the work performed and the necessary qualifications. This objective detail must not be underestimated. Second, the qualifications scale alone, however well it is constructed, is not, and cannot be, a reliable basis for the salary scale, since it cannot completely express the effect of the complexity and responsibility of the work performed.

Although there is a certain relative independence, the qualifications scale plays an objective role as the connecting link between the complexity scale of work performed -- the foundation upon which the construction is raised -- and the salary scale, which is essentially a function of the first two. Underestimation of these objectively existing cause and effect ties and dependencies leads to subjectivity and voluntarism, both in establishing the education and qualification needs of those employed and their grading according to this index, and in determining the level and correlation of salaries.

At the same time, the dynamic and irregular growth of the scientific and technological revolution demands that a distinguishing approach be applied to the construction of each of the scales, according to groups of branches and categories.

As far as uniformity is concerned, it must be achieved not least of all in one single scale for complexity, qualifications and salaries respectively, and in a common approach to their construction with common criteria and methods throughout the national economy. Otherwise, we shall not be able to overcome the present acute discrepancy between implementation of the demands for a uniform and distinguishing form of salary, which corresponds to common ownership of the means of production, and the intensifying dynamics of the factors and demands of the scientific and technological revolution.

Second. With respect to the principles of financial incentives for qualified personnel to improve their education and qualifications, two essential issues must be stressed. The first concerns overcoming the contradiction that exists in Bulgaria at present between the objective demands and the practical implementation of democratic centralism when considering financial incentives for working people to improve the level of their education and qualifications. We can no longer put off the public need for a radical improvement of centralism in such a way that the center defines only the standard demands (reference points) for education and qualifications and the most general correlations in salaries, which will be expressed in concrete form depending on the influence of corresponding factors in given situations, as the power of managers and work collectives broadens.

The second issue concerns the broader application of the principle of priorities. Obviously, together with general and on-going training, the system must provide greater incentives for the improvement of education and qualifications of those categories of working people on whom we depend most for the progress of the scientific and technological revolution and the introduction of its achievements into practice, i.e. scientists, technicians and managers. We must give preference to providing incentives for the improvement of education and qualification of those groups of working people in those developing areas of scientific and technological growth that have been given priority -- electronics, automation and telemechanics, atomic power, new materials, etc. Greater financial incentives are also necessary for managers and work collectives who take on and accomplish strenuous tasks and counter-programs for improving the education and qualifications of workers and specialists without lowering their work results.

However, the principle of setting priorities for financial incentives must be implemented, on the one hand, on the basis of already existing higher demands that are defined as the norm with respect to the necessary education and qualifications for the corresponding work to be performed. On the other hand, it must be preceded by the application of principles of selectivity, for careful selection of qualified personnel, who must have the corresponding required level of education and qualifications. In this respect, it is not expedient and there are no grounds for indiscriminate incentives for everyone engaged in the work mentioned if they do not possess the necessary qualifications. In this respect, the introduction of competitive and selective principles will be an important and positive factor. However, they must be guaranteed not only by a democratic process but also by the work ethic and political qualities of the candidates.

Third. Of particular significance with respect to the methods for providing financial incentives to working people to improve their education and qualifications are: methods to evaluate work according to complexity, responsibility and unpleasant conditions, for which the varieties of analytical method in conjunction with methods that establish the necessary resources for renewal of the work force will have a decisive advantage; methods to define the qualifications that are objectively required to perform jobs that vary according to complexity, responsibility and conditions; methods to establish the available individual qualifications of working people and their changes; methods for personal assessment, including indices not only for potential but also for qualifications achieved (this assessment is widely used in developed countries), etc.

In addition to the methods to be used for providing incentives, the use of the norm takes on even greater significance. In this respect, we unjustifiably underestimate the development of characteristics of professional and official qualifications with the aid of more progressive methods which comprise the characteristics of work functions, according to complexity and responsibility, and of the necessary education and qualifications that reflect the dynamic demands of the modern scientific and technological revolution. With the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, their role is rapidly expanding and their development on modern scientific grounds is a complicated and responsible task which demands continuous work. Our short-fall compared with the demands and practice of developed countries is also significant according to this index. The norm base of forms and systems of salary is also growing in importance, particularly in connection with the application of so-called transitional forms and systems of salary which are also generated by accelerated scientific and technological progress and provide a considerably greater incentive for improving the quality of the work force and industrial production.

Fourth. With regard to the forms of financial incentive for improving education and qualifications, the major factors for the future will be, in our opinion: a) the base salary, determined on the basis of the above-mentioned factors and the level of the on-going demonstration of qualifications in the course of work; b) the salary (bonus) for meeting work objectives, by which both available individual qualifications and the extent to which they are used in the course of work must be taken into account.

It is imperative that we overcome the considerable contradictions in that respect in the collective forms of organization and the collective forms of the payment of labor. Obviously, with the complex mechanization and automation of production, the collective forms of organization of labor and the periodical forms and systems of salary will be expanded, and that requires not only that the mechanism of assessment of individual contribution in the workplace be improved, but also that the effect of the differences in education and qualifications be reflected. Otherwise, the level of education and qualifications of those employed will be held back, resulting in an unfavorable influence on the attitude of those growing up toward the improvement of education and qualifications and toward their behavior, which in the final analysis will obstruct scientific, technological and social progress in Bulgaria, both now and in the future.

We must use incentives (bonuses) considerably more intensively, not only for on-going demonstrations but also for single demonstrations of very high levels of qualifications during the growth of scientific and technological progress and the application of its achievements. The irregularity and dynamism of the growth of scientific and technological progress will create the opportunities and the need for such single or repeated but highly effective demonstrations, which in turn demand that the management of the work collectives have available the necessary resources for respectively greater incentives.

There is an acute need for the development of distinguishing degrees for improved qualifications of qualified personnel according to appropriate (and similar) professions and specialties, which would replace the existing and obsolete tariff and pay-roll system and ensure opportunities for improving qualifications throughout a person's working life, with corresponding distinctions, in both demands and salary. That brings clarity and perspective and has a spiritual and material effect on the working people to improve their education and qualification.

For both skilled workers and specialists, these grades must more fully reflect the necessary education and qualifications resulting from the integration and typification of technologies, needs for a broad professional training and the learning of two or more professions or specialties with correspondingly higher salaries.

Consequently, the modern qualifications scale must, on the one hand, be based on its base scale for classification of jobs according to complexity and, on the other hand, create opportunities for employee advancement in education and qualifications, which would be accompanied by a suitable financial incentive.

There are also grounds for a broader application of different types of encouragement under the form of payments for on-going demonstrations of high qualifications in the course of work. These have long been practised in the USSR and are tending to expand. The form of payment allows flexibility and dynamics in their use, in both time and measure

Fifth. With respect to the salary scales, it is imperative to overcome the existing wage-levelling which kills incentives for improving education and qualifications of the working people. Above all, we have in mind a narrow range of the basic tariff network (1:1.56), which is the smallest for all periods since the tariff system was introduced in Bulgaria (1951-53), and compared with all member countries of CEMA. We also have in mind the insufficient distinction between the basic pay-roll salaries for elementary, secondary and higher education, which provides a disincentive to young employees to improve their education. In this respect, the consequences of fixed identical upper limits of pay-roll salaries for specialists with secondary and higher education at the level of the company are particularly negative. In practice, they lead to a factor that until recently did not exist in Bulgaria -- underestimation of higher education as a factor in the formation of a higher quality work force, higher quality work and higher quality achievements. This has a particularly negative economic and ideological effect and in effect demobilizes those who must be in the

forefront of scientific and technological progress -- specialists with higher education, especially the young ones. Without underestimating the good work results of the capable employees with secondary education, we must overcome the existing contradiction.

Research demonstrates that it is necessary to optimize the entire basic salary system, bearing in mind the objectively growing importance of the level of education and qualifications. The role of standards (reference points) may make the difference in the dimensions of the necessary resources for renewal of the work force with a low, average and high level of qualifications respectively -- with different degrees of education, established with the methods of normative and rational budgets, taking into consideration the effect of public resources. Obviously, in determining the salary scales, it is imperative to take into consideration the effect of the entire complex of factors which form them, i.e. the dynamics. Within the limits of the possibilities of our economy, however, it is imperative that we overcome or at least contain the trend toward wage-levelling, since yet another considerable trend is appearing -- the growth of the relative share of earnings from the private sector and other sources and the reduction in the share of salaries in the income of the population, which kills the incentive to work in the public sector and increase its productivity.

The economic approach to training employees and their effective use may and must be an important factor in using financial incentives for working people to improve their education and qualifications. Social organizations must take an interest in planning and must use their own resources to train their employees and organize on-going training courses. It follows that modern normative power and responsibility be established for the organizations and the working people themselves.

There are also grounds for reflecting on this fact: the system for classification of socialist organizations strives to recognize the complexity and value of the basic production resources and their use, but the necessary attention has not been paid to the quality of the employees in the work force, also the degree of their education and qualifications, and the efforts to improve the activity according to these very important indices for the development of social production and of the nation as a whole.

Implementation of the scientific and technological policies of the party, established at the February Plenum (1985) of the BCP Central Committee imposes the resolution of these and a series of other issues concerning financial incentives for working people to improve the level of their education and qualifications as one of the most important links in guaranteeing qualified personnel for the modern scientific and technological revolution and fusing its achievements and growth with the advantages of socialism to build a mature socialist society in our country.

12907

CSO:2200/94



ECONOMY

BULGARIA

#### TRADE RELATIONS WITH BELGIUM EXPANDING

Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 14 Mar 86 p 2

[Article by Kostadin Batkov, OTECHSTVEN FRONT correspondent in Brussels: "A partner in great demand on the international market-- From exporting dogwood cudgels to exchanging industrial technology-- Bulgarian-Belgian economic dialogue"]

[Text] A large Bulgarian trade and economic delegation was in Belgium last week. Its members included senior representatives from the Ministry of Trade and leading economic organizations and companies in our country. The event might have passed unnoticed. But at the "analysis" made on the final day in the office of the new trade and economic counsellor at the embassy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Brussels, Doncho Donchev, I heard some "stupefying things". I had the feeling that, instead of listening to a conversation of the results of the delegation's work, I was hearing a discussion of the draft thesis of the 13th congress of the BCP, in its most pressing aspect at that ... the scientific and technological revolution and the reconstruction of Bulgarian industry on a modern footing.

I shared this feeling with Ivan Gospodinov, a director in the Ministry of Trade and leader of the delegation:

"Reconstruction is at the forefront," he said. "At the 8th session of the Bulgarian-Belgium commission that has just been concluded, we conducted negotiations on economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation, in accordance with the demands of party documents. A colossal amount of preliminary research was necessary to be able to do this. A glimpse into the future -- this was our aim in the dozens of meetings with our partners in the commission's plenary sessions. This new spirit is also reflected in the protocol that we signed. What is important for this session is that proposals were tabled in the protocol containing priority projects for cooperation in the coming years between Bulgarian organizations and Belgian companies, and these proposals are in the spirit of the draft thesis of the 13th congress of the BCP. During the negotiations, particular attention was given to the development of modern forms of cooperation. The two countries came to an agreement to "jump" the elementary and usual exchange of goods and move straight to industrial cooperation, including setting up joint ventures. The Belgian side expressed a definite interest in forming small and medium-

sized companies for consumer goods in our country. The renewal of the existing long-term agreement between the two countries is imminent, as is the signing of an agreement for eliminating dual taxation. Negotiations are continuing for the signing of a treaty for mutual defense and encouragement of investment.

Our meetings with businessmen and officials responsible for Belgian foreign trade, including Minister Knjops, convinced us that Belgium attributes great importance to its foreign economic relations with Bulgaria. Our Belgian counterparts believe that the existing opportunities have not been exhausted. In matters of both payment and economic relations, Bulgaria is considered to be a partner one can work with, guaranteeing stability for its companies.

During the negotiations a series of deals were prepared for the chemical industry, the food and tobacco industries (Bulgarian yogurt will soon be appearing on the Belgian market) and machine building. Particular attention was given to a deal, signed for some tens of millions of dollars, between the Bulgarian organization "Bioinvest" and the Belgian firm "Abey" for supplying Bulgaria with the equipment and technology to produce sugar syrups from corn and for industrial cooperation in this field. The Belgian side will shortly construct a colossal refrigerated warehouse in Bulgaria and an installation for the production of fruit juices and nectars. An agreement was signed for giving the Belgian side the Bulgarian technology for the extraction of zinc.

The following fact speaks for the extraordinary interest in Bulgaria in Belgian business circles: since March 18 this year, 12 times more telephone links have been put into operation between Belgium and Bulgaria. Next year, the telex links between the two countries will be doubled."

I asked Engineer Slavi Kolev, Senior Director of the Department for International Relations at the State Committee for Research and Technology, to share with me which of the topics of negotiation coincide with the draft thesis of the 13th congress of the BCP.

"All of them," he summed up in a word. "We discussed only those issues concerned with production and introduction, problems connected with new prospects and reconstruction of our economy. Our proposals to the Belgian side were in the spirit of the most contemporary demands of the economy. Our partners were even surprised at the outset of the negotiations. We left aside the traditional proposals for scientific and technological cooperation and brought in contemporary topics and joint developments in the sphere of new materials, radioelectronics, microelectronics and automation of production. Discoveries that can be put straight into practice. The Belgian side received all this with understanding and exceptional interest. Here are some of the concrete results. Belgium has accepted the invitation to participate independently at the Plovdiv technical fair and to set up their booth in the Palace of the State Committee for Research and Technology. Scientific and technological cooperation is imminent between large Belgian firms and allied companies in the Gabrovo and Veliko Turnovo okrugs in the sphere of automation, the use of robots, information, electronics and tool-making.

We also agreed to joint production between Belgian and Bulgarian companies for third markets in the sphere of automation, flexible systems of production, tool-making (in which diamonds will be used), microelectronics, etc. Agreement was reached between the State Committee for Research and Technology and the Belgian Service for Scientific Programs for joint work on about 40 topics, chiefly in metallurgy, agriculture, genetic engineering, etc.

Trade ties between Bulgaria and Belgium date from the last century when Belgian firms planned and supplied rails, cars and locomotives for the first Bulgarian railway between Varna and Ruse. At the beginning of the century, the Belgians constructed the first hydroelectric plant, "Pancharevo". The first trams in Sofia were also Belgian. Once, we sold the kingdom dogwood cudgels for hammer grips. And now? Now, the economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation between Belgium and Bulgaria bears the mark of the 20th century.

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CS0:2200/99



POLITICS

ALBANIA

AWP JOURNAL URGES GREATER ROLE FOR ECONOMISTS

AU101805 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 3, Mar 86 pp 18-29

[Article by Niko Gjyzari: "Economic Thinking Should Assume Its Deserved Place at Every Level of Economic Management"]

[Excerpts] The construction of socialism through our own efforts, the development of the economy at a rapid and stable pace, and its increased efficiency are a result of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the party and of the efforts of our working people.

In the present stage of economic development, when the characteristics of intensive development are becoming increasingly more marked, when the connections between economic processes have become more complex, and when the material, foreign currency, and financial assets involved in economic activity are growing increasingly, the strengthening of the role of the planning and financial organs and their cooperation with other management bodies in tackling and in resolving major problems pertaining to the efficient development of the economy and culture become more important than ever. In these conditions, it is necessary to raise the level of economic thinking at the grassroots and at the center to a higher level, so that, as Comrade Ramiz Alia stated at the Mirdite District AWP Committee plenum, it may be fully engaged in the fulfillment of plans, particularly in the field of production and in raising its efficiency.

Planning and Monitoring Plan Fulfillment--The Major Field of the Activity of Economists

The party currently demands more skilled and fruitful work on the part of economists, elevation of economic thinking to a higher degree in both the planning process and plan fulfillment. The attainment of this goal is closely linked with the improvement of the work method and style of economists; they should delve more profoundly into the problems of the organization and management of the economy with a high degree of efficiency, they should suggest important and valuable solutions and persist in following up their implementation, leading to increased production and the improvement of the country's foreign currency, material, and financial balances, thus creating a sound base for the economy's present and future development.

Practice has shown that wherever the party organs and organizations devote proper attention to economic problems, particularly in activating the economists,

economic thinking develops and progresses and efficient solutions are found with regard to the problems confronting enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, or various economic branches. Thus for example, the positive results attained by the builders of the "Enver Hoxha" Hydroelectric Power Plan at Koman are a result of good cooperation among the workers, specialists, and managers who, relying on innovative thinking, ensured the commissioning of the first two turbines ahead of schedule, thus helping to improve the country's energy balance and securing revenues from electricity exports.

The increase in the scientific and mobilizing nature of our plans from one year to the next has been one of their marked characteristics. But in some economic enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, and particular branches of the economy, some mistaken trends--manifestations of subjectivism and voluntarism--have also made their appearance. There are cases when demands are made for investments and wage funds in excess of the possibilities of our economy, at the same time that general financial revenues are being planned at a low level. In certain cases narrow departmental and local interests have raised their head, leading to the drafting of plans with considerable reserves in order to "play safe."

The tendency to plan with reserves is nurtured by the mistaken idea of protecting the good name of the enterprise, by the tendency of certain cadres to work for fame and personal glory, to fulfill the plan without too much effort. Economists and other production specialists reconcile themselves in some cases with such mistaken tendencies and practices, trying to invent and bring in so-called "scientific arguments" justifying the approved level of the plan indicators. This happens usually in places where the economists are incompetent or where their voice is not properly heard. The most important thing, however, is that "those cases of planning production, productivity, and cost reductions with reserves, as well as cases of exaggerated demands for investments, manpower, and so forth," have not been dealt with by the party organizations" as manifestations of narrow interests hindering the development of the economy and affecting the general interests of the state and society." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth AWP Congress," p 126) It is therefore the permanent duty of the party organs and organizations and of their instruments, at the grass-roots and at the center, to stimulate and to guide economic thinking, to work for the improvement of the ideopolitical and technical-professional level of economists, to correctly distribute them at the various production and management levels, to activate them, to make demands on them, to listen to their ideas carefully, and to struggle against all mistaken tendencies and attitudes in the course of the planning process.

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ALBANIA

AWP JOURNAL ON FIGHT AGAINST RELIGION

AU211519 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Mar 86 pp 61-73

[Article by Hulusi Hako: "Toward the Creation of a Totally Atheist Society"]

[Excerpts] Since 6 February 1967, when Comrade Enver Hoxha made his programmatic speech, "Revolutionizing the Party and State," giving fresh impetus to the struggle of the party and the broad masses for further revolutionizing the whole life of the nation, some 19 years have passed. Various problems dealing with the intensification of the struggle on the ideological front had an important place in this speech. Meanwhile, 19 years have passed since the spring of that year when on the initiative of the masses, from below, a powerful revolutionary movement burst out throughout the country against religion and backward customs, a movement which, enacting the free will of the people, abolished places of worship and the clergy, and abolished organized religious sects and many savage customs. By this revolutionary act our society made a qualitative leap forward, the people freed themselves from a heavy material and spiritual burden, and entered upon a new stage of faster, fuller and broader emancipation.

In the bitter ideological discussion which has continued through the past 2 decades, which has radically and decisively reconsidered the "values" of the past and affirmed and consolidated new theory and practice, our people have reaped other victories in the field of further liberation from religious ideology, and in deepening their atheist, scientific, and materialist world view. However, the fact remains that today we still encounter in our lives some signs and vestiges of religious practices and prejudices, and some superstitions and backward customs connected with them. The nature and form of their incidence is now much more limited than 20-25 years ago, and they are encountered among an ever smaller number of people. But these incidences are still sufficiently considerable, damaging and dangerous to warrant the attention of the party which, together with its instruments, studies and guides social processes and phenomena on a correct scientific path. We must carry through to the end our struggle in this field, and through our concern for the harm these vestiges have caused and continue to cause, for the complete triumph of the party line, to demonstrate the vitality, strength and superiority of our materialist world view, our Marxist-Leninist ideology, and our social order.

The imperialist bourgeoisie, modern revisionists, and the Vatican, are very worried about the fate of religion in Albania. They consider the achievements

of our people in the struggle against religion, one of the greatest successes of our society, as a great loss, and a blow to their interests, positions, and claims. Alongside this, imperialist-revisionist circles and international reaction nourish the hope of a revival of religion in our country, and employ all kinds of ways and means of diversion, and ideological and cultural aggression for this purpose. Meanwhile the party and our people reject and expose the diversionary idea of reaction that, supposedly, "Atheism cannot overcome religion," or that "Religion cannot be eradicated," etc, as the reactionaries have now begun to claim in connection with the revival of religion in the Soviet Union and other countries under revisionist rule. The revival of religion in these countries is a result of the ruling powers' betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, and the return of capitalism to these countries, and the social and political conditions which give rise to and necessitate a religious ideology, and an alliance with such ideology. Meanwhile our people, who have suffered more than any other from religious ideology, and who are led by our party with Marxism-Leninism for their compass, are determined to forge ahead on new roads and unknown and untrodden paths, towards the creation of a totally atheist society.

Our society is now at the stage of active separation from vestiges of religion, and of actively embracing the atheist-scientific world view. This is a radical turning point, conscious and directed. Once and for all, decades ago, those times vanished when religion with its clergy, its places of worship, and its religious practices, was something normal, widespread and dominant, while anti-clerical and atheist opinion, although increasing, was restricted, in opposition, and harried and persecuted by the dominant superstructure of society. Today we are at the stage where the atheist-scientific world view has become natural, usual, widespread and dominant, and vestiges of religion, which exist in opposition, are becoming special and almost exceptional cases. In short, we are today in the phase of realizing a great turning point in this field, unprecedented in the centuries' long history of our people and of mankind, and when all conditions exist to aim at a totally atheist society.

Our new society has always used every means and opportunity in the struggle to attain this end. Some 15 to 20 years ago, when feelings of anti-clericalism ran high among our people, we attacked and overcame the most obvious, flagrant and tangible aspects of religion, and dealt a heavy blow to the material bases of religious ideology, and to the most flagrant and apparent backward customs; now the problems in this area have become more subtle, more scientific, and on a deeper social and intellectual level. Whereas before, when on the basis of the party's educational work and the convictions of the working masses, we achieved the complete destruction of clericalism and of the material base of religion, and a further exposure of the ideology of religion and of backward customs, now the creative aspect is becoming increasingly important--which is a more difficult matter. The party has drawn attention to the fact that religion and backward customs maintain their roots and still have not been eradicated conclusively. Religion used to be entwined in the events and customs and attitudes of Albanian society down the centuries and injected its poison into all the joys and sorrows of life, from birth to death, and it has left its traces in people's characters; it has implanted its practices in the lives not only of believers, but also of unbelievers, who sometimes observe religious

practices without realizing or understanding. So today we must address ourselves to the whole of society, not just to a minority of believers, demonstrating and inculcating the atheist values of the meaning and content of our new life.

It is our socialist order that offers the real conditions for liberating the working masses from the fear of insecurity, from suffering and anxiety, ensuring true happiness for them. In the development of our new life, our concrete achievements, our sincere interpersonal relations, our collective spirit of solidarity, and our socialist humanism and a healthy optimism have replaced the demagogic false promises of religion, its bogus warm-heartedness, and the anti-human hypocrisy of the clergy. Instead of illusory happiness, we are creating true happiness every day.

Meanwhile we must raise the scientific standards of work in atheist education, and make it more varied and substantial. The party has made clear to us, and practice has proved, that the struggle against religious psychology and ideology does not achieve its desired results when it is carried out in an over-general way, if we do not attack actual instances and the feelings of the actual carriers of the vestiges of this psychology and ideology.

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us not to be content "merely with general external appearances, and with impressive panoramas of social change, especially where the internal, spiritual world of man is concerned." This maxim holds good in the treatment of problems to do with the struggle against vestiges of religious psychology and ideology. We have every opportunity now to wage this war on such a basis. We now have, not only at the center but also at the grassroots, dozens of cadres trained to fight against vestiges of religion and backward customs, and for the creation and consolidation of the materialist, atheist-scientific world view. But there has been no lack of cases where party organizations and their instruments have lapsed into complacency and been surprised to find themselves confronted with negative phenomena and activities. This is a result of considering the phenomenon merely in an empirical way, which is also a cause of sporadic spontaneity and an intermittent campaign spirit.

Different kinds of alien vestiges exist and work in our lives, connected and intertwined with each other, nourishing and encouraging each other. In particular, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, "Petit bourgeois ideology and psychology has deep roots in us, and is a kind of support both for old patriarchal, feudal and religious ideologies, and modern bourgeois-revisionist ideologies; it is a bridge joining conservatism to liberalism, fostering and encouraging both." The petit-bourgeois world view has a subjective and metaphysical character. It confines man to a micro-world with a narrow and personal point of view. These characteristics bring this world view in perfect harmony with that of religious dogma.

Petit-bourgeois ideology and psychology, by not interpreting reality and various developmental factors correctly, makes its carriers create a distorted picture of life from an idealist and metaphysical position. This picture is close to that presented by religion. "There are still today people who think metaphysically," Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized, "and believe in certain 'forces'

which they elevate to factors that have supposedly set things in motion. For them, bureaucracy, administration, egotism, ambition, the sense of private property and personal position etc. are such 'forces.' For these people the deity has been transformed and found a home in the world views and signposts in life which used to support the idealist spirit of the capitalist, mercantile, and usurious bourgeoisie." These standpoints are active in our life in various forms, and sometimes seem normal and harmless, because they hide behind a mentality which is apparently in accord with the laws and customs and even the new "patriotism" of our age.

So the party teaches us to combat constantly these remnants of bourgeois and petit-bourgeois ideology and psychology, until we have a classless society.

Some people fall into the lap of religious vestiges, superstitions, and backward customs, not only because of their relatively low level of education and culture, but also because of various character weaknesses in themselves or in other people. Religions have always thrived in the darkest recesses of human consciousness, and the weakest links of the human character. In some, these weaknesses take on the form of arrogance, a sense of superiority, conceit, or a vengeful spirit, while in others they take on the form of servility, self-abasement, a sense of inferiority and inhibition--all fertile ground for religious ideology and psychology. Religion demands and creates people of weak character. Our society will need much time and must struggle hard before these taints on the human character disappear and healthy revolutionary characters are created and consolidated. And so we must struggle against the vestiges of religious psychology and ideology, and to strengthen our materialist world view.

Of course, to increase the effectiveness of this work we must be concerned about its quality. In oral propaganda, i.e. in readings and personal talks with people, a convincing scientific, theoretical, and practical argument is most important of all. Readings or conversations with general and mainly imperative phrases such as "Everybody must realize that the struggle against vestiges of religion and backward customs cannot tolerate superficial and spasmodic efforts..." are quite useless and unconvincing. For the masses, readings are the final stages in the execution of the party's demands, and as such must confront concrete problems with convincing arguments.

The creation of authentic Albanian atheist schools is one of the most monumental achievements of the party era. Our schools work wholeheartedly for the militant atheist-scientific education of whole generations, for the purification of people's consciousness, and the immunization of our society against manifestations or revivals or vestiges of religion. This active education within and beyond school has been and remains a constant duty of the schools.

In the struggle against every tendency to underestimate this problem, it is up to our schools to be more careful and to intensify activity in this field. Life itself gives the answer to the question of whether or not we should talk to young people and children about religion, and about the incidence of remnants of religion and the harm these things do, and replies to the fears of those who think "We'll put ideas into their heads." As long as children and



young people are exposed to the manifestations of vestiges of religion, especially within and outside the family circle, there is no reason why we should not talk frankly about them. Nor should we underestimate the fact that teachers themselves need to be taught and need to deepen their scientific concepts and their correct ideological interpretation of things, for there is also no shortage of men and women teachers who continue to hold superstitions about dreams, luck, fortune-telling, etc. Convinced atheist teachers will set the tone of militant atheism in a school.

It is also worth stressing that this education is the duty not simply of a few leading schools, who 19 years ago unfurled the flag of open war against religion, clericalism, and related backward customs--such schools as the "Naim Frasheri" secondary school at Durres and others, who keep alive the militant spirit of this struggle, systematically bringing up to date new contingents of school children, and regularly running scientific symposia. This education is the duty of every school, without exception. We are aware that the family will remain the last citadel of some traces of religion, which must be overcome. But schools are in the best position to overcome these vestiges with the help of the school children themselves, who indeed do obey their parents, although here their teachers' lessons and example carry more weight. The meanings of harm caused by certain rites, dogmas, and religious practices, superstitions, and backward customs must be explained to children and young people of elementary and secondary schools whenever the opportunity arises. We must always attest to and stress the value of a militant atheist education. Otherwise our young people will not be able to contradict the vestiges of religion they encounter in life with scientific knowledge obtained from school.

Deepening the struggle against vestiges of religion, apart from general activity for the atheist education of the working masses, has required and today still requires different kinds of work in different areas and with different kinds and categories of people.

Among these different kinds we have distinguished and continue to distinguish a particular group of people who, although few in number, are active carriers of religious and idealist world views and backward customs, such as former clergy, declassed elements dissatisfied with the people's government, and also some who have degenerated recently. On the basis of their former class positions and their calculations on a return of their "lost paradise," all these people quite consciously oppose the line of the party and our new road. For these people the exercise of religious practices is not only a form of nostalgia for their once-ruling class ideology and a consolation for their vanished hopes, it is also a counterweight and reaction to our reality. These elements also encourage the exercise of religious practices among other immature people, and launch hostile slogans in defense of religion and against our atheist socialist order. They are a social base, a leading source of that active internal hostile ideological pressure which is also in tune with hostile imperialist-revisionist ideological and cultural pressure and aggression. So world reaction, considering this group as its own, has risen, and, every now and then, still rises to its defense with the slanders and accusations that people of this group are supposedly persecuted in our country for their religious convictions. Complete polarizations between old and new are inherent

in the logic and dialectic of our development, and it is also inevitable that some religious fanatics should throw themselves against our social order and in political opposition to us. Religion itself, as part of the dominating superstructure of the old order, does not separate itself and never will separate itself from the politics of the exploiting classes and different invaders. And so we are still in an antagonistic conflict against the hostile activity of these political and ideological ruffians, cosmopolitans, divested of every shred of patriotism, who have sold themselves to foreigners and to their former agents; we are sharpening our vigilance against them and will punish them according to their degrees of guilt, through exposure by the public courts, down to and including criminal proceedings. Experience has shown that religious propaganda or religious rites practiced by these elements are simply a mask for their hostile political aims and intentions, and so it is our right to act against them as we have done, with the necessary strength and without hesitation.

All religious ideologies, in our country as everywhere else, are marked by a class character, are a thread of the anti-national and counterrevolutionary political network of those active carriers of the vestiges of the former ruling classes, former invaders and foreign patrons, and those whom they corrupted and perverted physically and spiritually. So not only their purely political activity, but also their every attempt to revitalize and reactivate vestiges of religion in our country today is in total harmony with the aims and intentions of imperialism, modern revisionism, the Vatican, and all world reaction. As in the past, so today too our national and class enemies place their hopes in the ideological and political weapon of religion, in inciting and encouraging religious feeling in a few fanatics. Internal and external enemies aim to use this weapon to corrupt our people, to weaken their will and determination to defend the victories they have won with so much effort and sacrifice, to pave the way for a return of the past, for Albania not to be socialist, for religion and the Church to rule our spirits and to assist in that degeneration they call "modernism" of "liberalism."

The Titoites have also used and continue to use religion for strongly political ends. Alongside the anti-Marxist concept of the declaration of religion "as a natural right of man," they aim to speculate on the religious feelings of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, attempting to cool their feelings towards Albania with its active atheist stance. We are right, and it is our duty, to combat and unmask this speculation, and also Titoism's great-Serbian and great-Slavic political persecution of our Albanian brothers in Kosovo, Montenegro, and Macedonia, which has been done through religion and in the name of religion to divide our Albanian brothers in Kosovo, Montenegro, and Macedonia and rob them of their national identity.

The Greek Patriarchate and Church, with constant chauvinist activity, has speculated and continues to speculate for strongly political ends. Foreign reaction is attempting to make an apple of discord of the Greek minority, who for us are like a bridge of friendship towards the Greek people, and uses the religious question for this purpose. In connection with this Comrade Enver Hoxha said, "Let us not forget that the question of religion among the minority has been connected with the Greek propaganda of the Greek 'chauvinists' and 'Northern Epirotes' and so there is a need for constant political and



ideological struggle.... When we see the question of religion mixed up with politics, then the struggle must be still more intense."

It is true that relations between our country and Greece have been improving noticeably. This is good news for us. However, we can never nourish the slightest illusion or fail to take into consideration the fact that anti-Albanian reaction there is active and strong. "The priest Sebasanios," stressed Comrade Ramiz Alia on 30 August 1985 at Kolonje, "and the Northern Epirotes and Greek chauvinists who visited the border regions near here are savage enemies of the Albanian people." Of course, attempts by Greek political chauvinists to speculate and juggle with vestiges of religion in the consciousness of some people, especially the old, and their accusations and slanders always will run up against the exemplary brotherhood that has grown up and been forged in our country between the minorities and the Albanians, and the happy and prosperous life which they have built and now enjoy in socialist Albania. Members of the minority, on the basis of sound reasoning and of experience with life and the line of the party, have unswervingly expressed their opposition both to clericalism and the fetters of religion. The significant answer given by the old lady of the minority population to the foreign journalists' question, "Where's your church and priest?" has become famous: "Neither the church nor the priest saved me from the beys and agas. When they ruled they didn't give me bread to eat or water to drink, or electricity for light, and they didn't teach my boys and girls. Only the National Liberation War gave me these good things, my Party of Labor, and so I love the party and not the priest."

The Greek minority is closely linked with the Albanian people through the struggle and labor of building a new life. And it is not the Orthodox faith which identifies and connects our minority with the Greek people, but cherished traditions and values from which whole generations and peoples have been inspired and have learnt, traditions highly esteemed by Comrade Enver Hoxha in his book "Two Friendly Peoples."

In the general struggle against religion and for the atheist-scientific education of our people, within the framework of specialized educational work, we may distinguish another group of carriers of some vestiges of religion and backward customs which is gradually shrinking. This group generally consists of some of our people of sound political stance, closely linked with the party and the people's government, but who in some acts and attitudes seem eclectic and divided. It is a question of a group which easily adopted anti-clerical attitudes, but was unable to raise itself to the level of active atheism and to understand and judge things scientifically, to free itself of every trace of belief, prejudice, and religious practice.

The party has made it clear that there must be specific educational work with these people to fight the sickness and save the patient, to struggle against the remnants of religious prejudice and backward customs, and liberate those who carry them. But there must also be specific work done with different groups of this contingent. In some people vestiges of religious prejudices and backward customs and some practices connected with them all survive through these people's low level of culture and education. In others, they survive

because of weakness of will in confronting different difficulties, such as illness or accidents. Among these there are also those who are bent on frequenting so-called "holy places," going there in search of healing, luck, or prosperity. There must be specific work with all these groups of people, down to individuals. This work can be most effective among women, because they can be shown, among other things, the cheapening, disdainful and hostile attitude of religious ideologies towards women.

Factors of great importance in the minds of many are those of death, burial, and the care of graves. We have achieved important changes and progress in this very delicate field. When a death occurs our society surrounds the family and dear ones of the deceased with particular care and powerful feelings of solidarity. The folk proverb which says, "A friend in need is a friend indeed," finds its expression at these unfortunate times, through which we all pass. The affirmation of many new, reasonable and secular customs and practices, free of religious mysticism or superstition, is now a powerful reality.

But we also know that religion has always tried to have a monopoly over death, concealing it behind a heavy curtain of mysticism, and has erected a whole system of "condolences and sympathy," fraudulent through and through, to cover these times of pain and sorrow. Similarly, the clergy have used death to threaten and frighten people. There are still people who, while not typical believers, and without believing in the dogma of "the resurrection" or an "afterlife," nevertheless do not find the strength to oppose acts of a religious character in the void created when those close to them die.

We are aware that certain problems within families, among them those dealing with death, burial and graves, are the final citadel to be captured from religious prejudices and practices. It is a matter of completely conquering this citadel, conscientiously and insistently, with tact and clear realizable goals, and affirming and consolidating new practices free from all religious influence, which have been created and are now widely used when deaths occur.

Another aspect of atheist education concerns an understanding of the importance of the use of national names for children. Of course, personal names retain the imprint of the age when they were born, and the events of the historical road of our people. Some names retain signs of former religions and superstitions, which religion invested with particular miraculous power, or preventive charm, or had some connection with "sanctity" etc.

Of course, radical material and spiritual changes in our life have left their mark on personal names. For example, in Himare, where during the 1945-50 period religious names comprised 80 percent of the total, by 1970-75 the proportion had sunk to 40 percent and in 1984 to 30 percent. But the fact that religious and foreign names continue to be used to a considerable extent must make us evaluate our work in this field with a critical eye.

Everybody chooses a name for their child as they wish, and wants it to be pretty, musical in pronunciation, etc. But when we have such attractive national names, it would not be right to use foreign names which are also an

expression of religious nostalgia, and xenomania. Personal names also express the national character of a people. Therefore, we may legitimately insist upon national names taking their rightful place, so that people's names shall remain for future generations an indicator of former religious allegiance. Registrars are furnished with lists of national names, and a "Dictionary of Personal Names" was published in 1982 with more than 3,000 national names. But there is a need for intensive educative work to convince people of the importance of the use of national names.

There is still the problem of marriages between young people of different former religions. We have considered these marriages, from an ideological and political point of view, as a challenge to religion and a further strengthening link in the moral-political and ideological unity of our people. It is well-known that our people a long time ago adopted the glittering maxim, "An Albanian's faith is Albanianism," and that this idea has passed the tests of the most decisive moments in the earlier and recent history of our people. Everywhere, when faced by a serious difficulty, our people have never raised questions of religious allegiance, but have acted as one, overcoming and denying religious divisions. But when the question of marriage arises, and when two young people of different former religions want to marry, then even today this does not happen easily. In some cases a kind of barrier is built, and the most varied "reasons" and obstacles are fabricated by parents, grandparents, and other relatives.

There is no need to exaggerate this negative phenomenon, nor must it be underestimated.

There is also a pressing need to convince people that vestiges of religion are fertile ground for the ideological and political aggression and diversionary tactics of imperialist-revisionist agents. We know that world reaction has placed great hopes in subjecting us to cultural and ideological diversion, and has used religion and the church to this end. Its aim is to exert its influence to revive vestiges of religion among our people, to use religious cults for developing a network of agents, to deceive public opinion with slanders and accusations against Albanian life, and to threaten the authority of socialist Albania among the working masses of the world. The reactionaries use the radio, television, and the press for this purpose, secretly sending religious books floating on the waters of the Ionian and Adriatic seas, down the Drin and Vjose rivers, and through "tourists" and "visitors," and building and decorating places of worship in border areas, and so forth. It is clear that we are dealing with the organized and co-ordinated activity of all the forces of world reaction.

We have given the appropriate response to these campaigns, which vary in intensity. But, as long as this imperialist-revisionist ideological aggression continues we cannot underestimate it. The teaching of our party is, as Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed, that "Behind alien vestiges, religious beliefs, backward customs, and every kind of unsocialist thinking maintained by anybody, there lurks the danger of degeneration, the reserves of the class enemy, of imperialism and revisionism."

The reality, example and road of our country have challenged not only the outmoded elements of the ages but also the outmoded elements of the present-day capitalist world, in which religion is supported and propagated, like mold in decaying substances. They are exposing the treachery of the modern revisionists, their ideological and political reconciliation with religion and with the church, with the Vatican. Therefore, the teaching of the party is that, at the present stage of development of our country, the struggle against religious ideology is closely linked with the struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

The attitude toward religion and clericalism is one of the most important and meaningful indicators which distinguishes and separates true Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class from opportunistic and revisionist parties.

In society, the old does not disappear and the new is not established automatically. It is the activity of the party and its levers, their skilled educational activity with individuals in the area of scientific-atheistic education which will result in the creation of a completely atheistic society in our country.

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CSO: 2100/40

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ALBANIA

EDUCATOR CALLS FOR MORE SCIENCE TEXTBOOKS

AU071532 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by Docent Hasan Mucostepa, vice rector of the "Enver Hoxha" University of Tirana: "A Broader Concept About Contemporary Information in the Schools of Higher Education Texts"]

[Excerpts] Students have at their disposal about 1,500 textbooks and study materials for the 530 scientific disciplines taught at the university. A great number of these textbooks are original and contain a wealth of material on the present development of the relevant sciences.

However, despite the effort that has been made to reflect our party's ideological and theoretical thought, the achievements of our sciences, the exponential growth of contemporary scientific information, the urgent demands of the development of production, and the introduction of know-how and new technologies as well as possible in the textbooks, a broader conception, a higher degree of efficiency, and a more rapid processing of information is still needed. Considering the very rapid increase in information and the current state of affairs--out of the 1,500 textbooks used by the university about 800 have been published prior to 1980, and 600 of these prior to 1975--it is obvious that the problem assumes primary importance. What is necessary first of all is to accelerate the rate of preparing and rewriting new textbooks, because at the rate of 110 new textbooks that are being published annually, this task would require at least 7 years. In addition to accelerating the pace of publishing new textbooks, the various sections must always bear in mind Comrade Enver's instruction not to "prune and patch up what is new over what is outdated," that is, not to place new facts, methods, and discoveries on top of the pyramid of the old content, but to select, through precise syntheses, the knowledge that explains the largest amount of laws, phenomena, and processes. The amount of fundamental knowledge to be included in each textbook constitutes a key problem. The knowledge must be concise and must permit the achievement of greater conceptual possibilities.

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POOR QUALITY CLOTHING CITED BY AWP PAPER

AU031401 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 25 Mar 86 p 2

[Article by Kristaq Laka: "Outmoded Prejudices or Outmoded Clothes?"]

[Excerpts] "Comrade Ana," someone called out in the hall to the director of the Clothing Production Enterprise [NPV] in Tirana. "You produce ready-made clothes. You often produce clothes that sit for years on end in shops and storehouses without anyone buying them. How does this happen?"

"There are various reasons, but there is also the idea that women don't want ready-made clothes. Rather than buy our products, they prefer to buy fabric lengths and have them made up by dressmakers in the service sector, or in other improper ways."

"But if you met their demands properly, both in new styles and quality of production, then there is no doubt that none of your products would remain on the shelves...."

On the basis of the discussion, more or less on these lines, at the recent meeting of the Albanian Women's Union general council plenum, we may rightly ask: Is it a question of a prejudice among our comrades against ready-made garments, or is it a question of outmoded clothes, out of style?

It seemed to us a good idea to talk to some clothing sales persons about this problem. We merely offer here our conversation with Natasha Osmani, a sales person in the clothing department of the People's Store No 1 in Tirana.

"Whenever the NPV sends us well-made clothes of good quality, the shop fills with customers. As they say, quality goods seem to beckon to you, and it is as if the whole shop were singing. We are absolutely delighted when customers say, 'Congratulations to the women who have sewn it so nicely.' But what can you do," she went on, "when they come and try on the same article four or five times, and as many times purse their lips and say, 'It's a sin that such good material has been sewn so badly.' In such cases, we who deal in such articles are also responsible."

"Goods still on their hangers represent leks," the sales person succinctly said.



In the credit department of the Tirana District State Bank, Comrade Nesime Mullaj informed us of a study carried out by her department in the storerooms of the trade organizations of the district. There are millions of leks worth of goods that never move. But let us pause to consider merely the clothes. Without entering into details, let us merely give a figure. The value of two items with slow sales totals 3 million leks, and there are dozens of these articles.

"What can we do?" asked clothing warehouseman Metin Bejzati. "These are what the NPV send us. We put them on the market, but nobody buys them because they are outmoded, and their style is not in line with present day taste. Here, for example, are 2,700 knitted cotton women's 2-piece suits produced by the Tirana NPV, at a price of 760 leks. But they don't sell and never have sold. We have 'hawked' them round the whole country in a catalog, but nobody at all wants them."

Who produces these outmoded garments that cost the state millions of leks? Various paths lead to the culprits. One leads to the textile combines in Tirana and Berat, which often produce goods of poor quality and poor taste. Another path leads to the trade organization which makes frequent orders at the wrong time of year. We might call these orders out of step with the taste of the time. The final path leads to the NPV. In fact, the three together are involved in a game of pass-the-parcel. The combines say that these are the colors they have. The NPV says that this is the material sent by the combines, and the trade sector says that these are the goods sent by the NPV, and what can we do? And so the blame remains like an orphan, with nobody taking responsibility for it. But what must be done? Each of these sectors has much to do. All the women comrades who work in these places and who make up the vast majority of the work force must work with more imagination, with attention to quality, and with creativity, to produce good, beautiful articles for the people. If a working woman were to think of herself as a consumer as well as a producer, then her handiwork would never gather dust in shop windows and storerooms.

But when people work irresponsibly--"Well, folks, just to fulfill and exceed the norm," without considering whether the goods they produce will satisfy customers' needs, tastes and demands, then they inevitably create piles of slow-selling goods which hinder the supplying of the people, and as a result damage the economy.

If you work well at your enterprise, then your comrades will not go and have skirts and dresses made in improper ways. To attain this as fast as possible demands concern, professionalism, expertise and responsibility from comrades themselves. They must ask themselves of every item produced, "I wonder if it will please the customer?"

/12766

CSO: 2100/40

3 June 1986

## POLITICS

## ALBANIA

## LEADERS ATTEND AWP DISTRICT COMMITTEE PLENUMS

AU161157

[Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT on 8, 9 and 10 April 1986 carries reports on recently held AWP District Committee plenums and the leaders attending the events. The issue of 8 April carries on page 2 a 1,700-word report by Astrit Nuri on the Tirana District AWP Committee plenum held "recently." A report on the implementation of the tasks set out by the 13th AWP Central Committee plenum was delivered by Llambi Gegprifti, chairman of the Tirana District People's Council Executive Committee. The plenum was also attended by Hekuran Isai, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, as delegate of the AWP Central Committee.

In his report, which dealt mainly with the economic performance of Tirana District during the first quarter of 1986, Llambi Gegprifti is cited as stating, among other things, "The industrial production was fulfilled 102.8 percent and the volume of construction was fulfilled 100.3 percent." He also attributed the district's generally positive achievements during the first quarter to "the further strengthening of control at all levels."

The plenum was also addressed by Hekuran Isai, who "appreciated the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, and the high level of the plenum," as well as Tirana District's good economic performance during the first quarter of the current year. "This positive experience," he is reported as saying, "must be better encouraged through various forms of moral incentives, and this must be done not only with regard to workers and cooperativists, but also with regard to cadres."

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT of 9 April 1986 carries, also on page 2, a 1,500-word report on the "recent" meeting of the Elbasan District AWP Committee plenum, "which discussed problems pertaining to the further tightening of discipline and control to ensure the overall fulfillment of tasks." The main report concerning the implementation of the instructions of the 13th AWP Central Committee plenum was delivered by Xhemal Dymylja, Elbasan District AWP Committee first secretary. Among other things, he is reported as saying that "the overall industrial production plan was fulfilled 104.6 percent, the construction-installation plan was fulfilled approximately 100 percent, the transportation volume 111.7 percent, the communal services plan was fulfilled 101.5 percent, retail trade 100 percent, the export plan was fulfilled 117 percent, and so forth."

According to the report, the meeting was also attended by Nexhmije Hoxha, delegate of the AWP Central Committee, who congratulated the district for being among the best in the republic with regard to the fulfillment of the tasks set out by the AWP Central Committee in the political, ideological, and social fields, as well as in the fulfillment of economic tasks.

ZERI I POPULLIT of 10 April carries, also on page 2, a 1,500-word report on the "recent" plenum of the Tropoje District AWP Committee, which also examined its quarterly economic performance and set out the tasks arising from the decisions of the 14th AWP Central Committee plenum. The main report was delivered by Mira Marku, secretary of the District AWP Committee. The meeting was reportedly also attended by Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee secretary.

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CSO: 2100/40

POLITICS

ALBANIA

CADRES VOLUNTEER FOR WORK IN NORTHERN DISTRICTS

AU191727

[Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian of 15 April 1986 publishes on page 1 a 500-word letter addressed to Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, by 141 cadres and specialists from Tirana central institutions. The letter begins: "We, the undersigned, are 141 cadres and specialists from central departments and institutions, who respond readily, willingly, and with full conviction, to the call that you, dear Comrade Ramiz, made at the 14th AWP Central Committee plenum, to work for a period of 2-3 years in the northeastern districts of the country." The signatories of the letter pledge that they will work together with the people of the area to implement the party's and Enver Hoxha's instructions.

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT 16 April 1986 carries, also on page 1, a 200-word letter addressed to Ramiz Alia by 72 volunteers and candidate members of the AWP in Durres District, who have gone to the Spac mining area in Mirdite District, pledging to work with "proletarian discipline."

Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 17 April 1986 carried a 3-minute report on the decision of an unspecified number of Ministry of Health staff and medical staff from various Tirana medical institutions, who have also volunteered for work in the northern districts of Albania.

Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 16 April 1986 broadcast a report of a meeting held at the club of the Union of Writers and Artists in Tirana, at which a number of writers and artists have also volunteered to move to the northern districts, in answer to the party's call.

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CSO: 2100/40

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON 17TH CPCZ CONGRESS

Addresses by Western Communists

AU290945 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 26 March and on 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 April publishes on its inside pages a total of 103 "messages of greetings" addressed to the 17th CPCZ Congress by foreign delegates who attended the event. The messages, ranging between 250 and 2,500 words, were delivered either at the 25 March session of the 17th CPCZ Congress (those of the Soviet, GDR, Polish, and Hungarian delegates) or at "rallies with the working people" that were held in various industrial enterprises and institutions throughout Czechoslovakia on 26 and 27 March. In addition to greetings by representatives of ruling communist and workers parties, which have been processed as separate items, RUDE PRAVO also publishes messages presented by representatives of non-ruling communist and workers parties, some socialist parties, and national liberation movements. Some of the statements by delegates of non-ruling communist parties contain references to controversial issues concerning developments in individual parties and countries, relations with the CPCZ, or developments within the international communist movement.

On 2 April, on page 3, RUDE PRAVO carries the 1,200-word speech by Ignacio Gallego, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain, made at a meeting with the workforce of the NHKG steel mill in Ostrava-Kuncice on 27 March. Speaking about the need for unity of communists in Spain, Gallego says: "There can be no left-wing alternative to the social democrats without the re-establishment of a large communist party, without restoring the unity of Spanish communists on ideological foundations. The communist movement had always represented this unity--before it was abandoned and replaced by a new version of social democracy, Eurocommunism, which has had as its consequence the downfall of a party with a glorious tradition: the PCE.

"Our big task is now to renew this unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

"Without this renewal, the Spanish working people and progressive strata will hardly be able to cope with the demands of the struggle that they must wage today: the struggle for peace, the struggle to overcome the economic crisis, and also the struggle to overcome capitalism itself."

In another part of his speech, Gallego draws attention to the fact that his participation in the Czechoslovak party congress "means that Spanish communists again take part in the congress of the CPCZ." "We all stand to profit from this," he adds.

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries the 1,600-word speech by Pierre Blotin, member of the PCF Politburo, who spoke at a meeting with employees of the Skoda plant in Ostrov, West Bohemia, on 27 March. On the subject of relations between French and Czechoslovak Communist parties, Blotin says: "In the spirit of its combat traditions, our party supports solidarity with all forces that, in diverse forms, take part in the great struggle for progress, democracy, and the liberation of man. We are, of course, in favor of international solidarity with other communist parties.

"We operate under diverse conditions. The diversity of the situations is becoming ever deeper. It is therefore quite natural that some of our positions differ, that we disagree on some issues. We also expressed this in the joint statement of both our parties in June 1982, in which we simultaneously stressed the need to cooperate for the attainment of joint aims--in the struggle for peace, for disarmament and security in Europe, for democracy and socialism.

"Experience has shown that this is possible.

"Relations between our parties have developed on these foundations and on the traditions of friendship between French and Czechoslovak Communists.

"We are in favor of the development of ties and cooperation between our countries.

"There exist many realistic opportunities that can be seized for mutual benefit in keeping with the longstanding ties of friendship between France and Czechoslovakia and in the interest of peace and security."

Also on 2 April, on page 5 RUDE PRAVO carries the 600-word speech by Jose Arizala, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia, which he delivered at a meeting with employees of the Zetor plant in Brno on 27 March. The main part of his speech concerns the persecution of communists in Colombia. In this context Arizala says: "The struggle for a democratic change in Colombia is underway. The strongest guerrilla movement, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia--Popular Army (FARC-EP), concluded in 1984 armistice agreements with the government. The armistice has been observed, despite the militarists' provocations and even though other movements have again resorted to armed operations. The Communist Party has become a target of the reactionary offensive. Plan 'Condor' has been drawn up against it, which comprises assassinations and murders of leading officials and acts of terrorism against offices of the Communist Party of Colombia and the Communist youth.

"The so-called Ricardo Franco Group, which is infiltrated by many agents of military espionage, has made attempts on the lives of Comrades Hernando Hurtado, Jaime Caycedo, and Alvaro Vasquez, members of the Central Executive Committee.



"Communists Ruben Dario Castano, member of the Central Committee, Hernando Yate, Jesus Garcia, Rogelio Sanchez, and Hernando Dionisio Calderon have been assassinated. Leading officials of other democratic and left-wing movements such as the socialist Cesar Florez, Oscar Wuillan Calvo from the EPL, or Ricardo Lara Parada, chief of the Broad Front in Magdalena Medio, have also perished.

"Numerous popular fighters have disappeared, among them the prominent communists Faustino Lopez, Miguel Angel Diaz, Pablo Caicedo, and Marco Fidel Castro."

Arizala says that, in spite of this "wave of repression," the Colombian left wing scored a "great election victory" in the last parliamentary elections when the number of its members of Parliament increased from 2 to 14--5 senators and 9 deputies.

On 3 April, on page 3, RUDE PRAVO carries the 900-word speech by Arvo Kempainen, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Finland, at a meeting in the Praga plant in Kutna Hora on 26 March. Speaking about recent developments in his party, Kempainen says: "You know that we have had internal problems in the Communist Party of Finland in recent years. We have seen very well that there must be good discipline in the party on the basis of democratic centralism. If you permit the principles of the party statutes to be violated and allow the emergence of any factions in the party, which was the case in our party prior to the 20th Congress in 1984, after some time this destroys the entire party. That is why we decided to expel these constantly rebellious groups from the party. We have, of course, and will continue to have democratic debates in our party. But we no longer want to continue to engage in fruitless infighting; we want to live a normal life in our party. The Communist Party of Finland will in the future be a militant, well organized, and recognized party. We want to do away with the power of large monopolies, and intend to build a democratic coalition on a broad basis in cooperation with progressive forces, especially with the Social Democratic Party. As we know, deepening democracy is also a step toward socialism. There cannot be socialism without democracy."

In another part of his speech, Kempainen also advocates greater cooperation between communist and workers parties. He says: "Communist parties in advanced capitalist countries have held meetings and discussions in recent years but I believe that we need more of them. We know that meetings with fraternal parties are highly beneficial. We learn from experiences of colleagues and pass our experiences on to others. Bilateral and even multilateral meetings, held on an equal basis while respecting one another, can be very interesting and useful."

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries the 800-word speech of Bill Innes, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain and secretary of the party's Yorkshire Committee, delivered at a meeting in the Skida Plzen concern enterprise on 27 March. Speaking about the party's "program of a British path to socialism," Innes says: "Our goal is to help build a socialist Britain, in which there would exist pluralism of political parties and democratic movements, the right and the opportunity

to express divergent political views, the right to religious worship and to engage in cultural, artistic, and scientific activity.

"In our struggle for socialism in Britain, we will continue our long tradition of internationalism.

"Communist parties all over the world are a mighty part of the anti-imperialist struggle.

"Differing views in such a broadly based movement are inevitable.

"Differences in views do not necessarily mean disunity, provided that all communist parties respect the sovereignty and independence of every individual communist party.

"However, even under all changeable circumstances, peace, democracy, national liberation, and socialism must remain our common goals."

On 3 April, on page 4, RUDE PRAVO also carries the 2,000-word speech by George Toubi, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, made at a meeting in Senec, West Slovakia, on 27 March. One passage of his speech is devoted to the crisis within the PLO. Toubi says: "Despite the failure of the aggression in Lebanon, American imperialists with the help of Zionist ruling circles and Arab reactionaries continue their plots aimed at ignoring the right of the people of Palestine to national existence, undermining the sovereignty of independent states, and thereby preventing peace in the Middle East from materializing. The Amman agreement signed in February 1985, in accordance with Reagan's plan and the infamous Camp David Accords, are one of the most visible manifestations of these dangerous intrigues. The Amman agreement contravenes the true interests of the Palestinian people and the cause of peace. The sooner it is abrogated, the better.

"The crisis within the PLO has caused great damage, it gives pain to all friends and supporters of the Palestinian cause. The restoration of unity within the PLO is of immense importance for promoting anti-imperialist struggle, putting an end to occupation, and achieving a just solution of the Palestinian problem. Unity can be regained through struggle against imperialist intrigues and liquidationist solutions, on the basis of a fair, realistic, and just peace plan and cooperation with anti-imperialist and peaceloving forces of the world."

"Capitulationist trends" in the PLO and the agreement of Amman between King Husayn and Yasir 'Arafat are also condemned by Michel Kamel, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Egypt, and Samir Haddad, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Jordan, whose messages of greetings to the 17th CPCZ Congress are published on the same page.

On 4 April, on page 3, RUDE PRAVO publishes the 1,500-word greetings of Jack McPhillips, chairman of the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA), delivered at a meeting in the NHKG steel mill in Ostrava-Kuncice on

27 March. In the opening part of his message, McPhillips explains the connection between the founding of his party and the history of the CPCZ: "The SPA has some special reasons to take an interest in the development of your country and party and to rejoice at it. The SPA is a relatively new party that was founded in December 1971. It was founded after some members of the Communist Party of Australis [CPA] became convinced that the leading representatives of that party had abandoned fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles and had led the CPA astray, to the right.

"Some manifestations of this deviation, which is dangerous for the workers class and also for the international movement, concerned the attitude of the CPA leadership of those days to the events in Czechoslovakia and in the CPCZ in August 1968. On that occasion, leading CPA representatives condemned the assistance given by the countries of the Warsaw Pact to Communists in Czechoslovakia against counterrevolutionary forces.

"Their criticism was directed mainly against the USSR and the CPSU. But they did not spare revolutionary forces in the CPCZ either. At that time they adopted the views of dissident and counterrevolutionary forces and were spreading these views in the workers movement in Australia.

"Those of us who came to understand their positions as proof of their deviation from Marxist-Leninist principles opposed developments within the CPA and finally arrived at the view that in order to maintain a Marxist-Leninist organization in Australia it was necessary to break away from the CPA and to set up the SPA.

"That is why my personal interests--I was among those who helped to found the SPA--and the interests of the SPA itself are connected with developments in Czechoslovakia and in the CPCZ."

On 5 April, on page 4, RUDE PRAVO carries the 750-word message of greetings from Aziz Muhammad, first secretary of the Communist Party of Iraq (date and place of its presentation are not specified). The message contains the following passage on the last, clandestine congress of the Communist Party of Iraq: "Esteemed comrades, the Fourth National Congress of our party was held in November 1985, in absolute secrecy on the territory of our homeland. The congress confirmed the clear, Leninist positions of the party. It called for an immediate end to the Iraqi-Iranian war, for further relentless defense of the basic interests and rights of the Iraqi people and the Iraqi workers class, and for further revolutionary struggle together with other patriotic and democratic forces for democracy for the people of Iraq and genuine autonomy for Kurdistan.

"Our party regards the Iraqi-Iranian war as a destructive exhaustion of human and material resources and energy that is at variance with the interests of both nations and both countries. It demands an immediate end to this war and the solution of problems by peaceful means. This will also prevent imperialists from having a dubious pretext for direct military intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of the Gulf, and to enforce their presence in the region.

"Our party resolutely condemns the latest Iranian escalation of military operations in the southern and northern parts of the homeland and demands their termination without delay. We regard this as a task of foremost importance that will permit our people to continue even more resolutely their struggle to establish a democratic regime and for the autonomy of Kurdistan. Our party appeals to all peace-loving forces of the world to intensify their efforts aimed at the termination of this war. It also appeals to them to show their solidarity with the struggle of our party, our people, and our national democratic front comprising Arabs, Kurds, and ethnic minorities, for the implementation of the just demands of the people."

On 5 April, on page 5, RUDE PRAVO carries the 700-word message of Hideo Sakamoto, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan and the party's representative in the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, delivered at a meeting with the workforce of the "Medications" national enterprise in Prague on 26 March. Sakamoto devotes his message to the activities of the Communist Party of Japan in its campaign for peace and against nuclear weapons and his speech, in contrast to the speeches of virtually all other foreign delegates, contains no words of praise for the CPCZ or Czechoslovakia's achievements. In its only reference to the CPCZ Sakamoto's message says: "Comrades, we hope that relations between the Communist Party of Japan and the CPCZ will develop correctly on the basis of strict respect for the principles of independence, equality, and noninterference in the internal affairs of the other party."

In a possible allusion to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Sakamoto also says: "Apart from averting nuclear war and liquidating nuclear arms, the Communist Party of Japan also attaches importance to the defense of the right of nations to self-determination as the chief task of international solidarity. We are unambiguously opposed to any curtailment of the nations' right to self-determination, no matter what pretext is used and from which side it comes."

The 103 messages of greetings published by RUDE PRAVO include no message from the PCI, although a PCI delegation led by Claudio Petruccioli, member of the PCI Central Committee, attended the CPCZ Congress and, according to RUDE PRAVO of 27 March, took part in a rally in the Wilhelm Pieck plant of the CKD enterprise in Prague on 26 March. There are messages from the PCE and the Communist Party of the Netherlands, which were not represented at the congress.

#### Palestinian Communist Greetings

AU290816 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Apr 86 p 6

["Greetings message" to the 17th CPCZ Congress conveyed by Na'im Ashhab, Central Committee Politburo member of the Palestine Communist Party, in Ostrava, date not specified: "For the Rights of the Palestinian People"]

[Text] Esteemed friends and comrades, it is a pleasure and an honor for us to meet you in your ancient as well as modern city of Ostrava--one of the largest centers of the workers class, with its glorious history of revolutionary battles. Our meeting is taking place at a time of political activity, which is now filling the life of your country on the occasion of the 17th CPCZ Congress.

After the opening of the congress we listened attentively to the CPCZ Central Committee's political report, delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak. This report evaluated the significant successes achieved since the last congress, particularly in the economy and in social policy. Bold plans for the future were laid out in it, reaching to the end of the 20th century. The successes achieved and the road marked toward a happy future convincingly reveal the merits of socialism and its humane character--compared with capitalism in which the general crisis has recently been steadily deepening, accompanied by such phenomena as mass unemployment, inflation, the deterioration of the working people's living standards, the growth of criminality, the use of drugs, and other rampant, dangerous, antisocial phenomena.

The plans set before you in the materials of the 17th Congress, which concern the acceleration of the process of socioeconomic development and the development of socialist democracy, open bold horizons for enhancing the welfare of the Czechoslovak people. Together with the plan for accelerating socioeconomic development, which was adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, and together with similar plans formulated in other socialist countries, your plans clearly testify to the humane contents of socialism and capitalism to be played out in the field of construction and social progress for the benefit of all mankind and its contented life, and not in the sphere of destruction and war.

The idea of preserving peace stands in first place for your party's leadership, and holds its entire attention, as attested to by the course of deliberations at the 17th CPCZ Congress and by the political report submitted to the congress by the Central Committee of your party. Your beautiful country and your peaceloving people with their rich cultural heritage have known war and the suffering that war brings. You have had the First and Second World Wars. One must express appreciation for the significant active role that is being played by the CSSR, together with the other countries of the socialist community with the Soviet Union at their head, in the defense of peace. Peace initiatives were, and are, being submitted; they aim at achieving disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, and a ban on the transfer of armaments into outer space.

Comrades, permit me to use the present occasion to express to you, and through you to all friendly Czechoslovak people and to the Czechoslovak state and its Communist Party, both respect and appreciation for the principled international support and solidarity that are being granted to our Palestinian people's just fight for their justified national rights, which are internationally acknowledged--that is, the right to return to their homes, to self-determination, and to set up their independent national state under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our people. We appreciate your stands with regard to the Arab peoples' fight against aggression and imperialist meddling, and to achieve a just peace in the Mideast area.

This support and solidarity are truly gaining special attention at the present time, when the American Zionist intrigues against our people and their rights are escalating, with the substantial assistance of Arab reaction. These intrigues have accompanied various forms of pressure, which were also helped by Arab reaction, until a split took place in the Palestinian national movement. In this one made use of the illusions, that began to be apparent in the PLO's leadership when the goals and prospects of the struggle were being formulated and the nature of American plans for settlement was being appraised. Today, after a year of attempts

to adopt a solution on the basis of the Amman agreement, signed by King Husayn and Yasir 'Arafat, the only plans Washington has for resolving the Palestinian issue are plans for its total liquidation, to benefit the Israeli occupation and of American strategic plans. In the atmosphere of problems emerging from the split in the Palestinian resistance movement and from the growing pressure of Arab regimes which agree with the American plans (this applies to the Kingdom of Jordan and to Egypt), Israel and the Zionists are making use of the existing situation. With steadily increasing impudence they are resorting to annihilation operations, and are annexing further territories inside occupied Palestinian territory, aiming to destroy resistance and the firm stand of our people who have already been fighting untiringly for more than 18 years against the occupation, regardless of the constantly escalating crimes against the population. However, you can rest assured that the comrades in the Palestine Communist Party are standing in the front ranks of this heroic and sacred battle on occupied Palestinian territory.

Permit me once again to wish your congress many successes, and also to wish success to all friendly Czechoslovak people in building their most beautiful socialist fatherland. We also greet all Czechoslovak Communists, the sons and daughters of the glorious Czechoslovak people, on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the establishment of the CPCZ, the leader and initiator of all their successes.

/9604

CSO: 2400/271



3 June 1986

## POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## ARTICLE DETAILS PLANS FOR TV NETWORK EXPANSION

AU061325 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Apr 86 p 4

[Article by Eva Sadilkova: "Task for 52 Transmitters"]

[Text] The first television program transmissions in our republic began in 1952 from the Pertin transmitter in Prague. Gradually the possibility to view television was expanded to the entire republic. In 1975 the transmission network for the first television program was completed; it consists of 11 basic and 20 booster transmitters and of 1,010 television relay stations.

We began building the network of the second television program in 1970, with the first transmitters in Prague, Brno, Ostrava, and Bratislava. It was meant to be completed in the course of the ninth quinquennium, and to consist of 52 transmitters. During the years of the eighth quinquennium five further basic transmitters for the second program were commissioned for operation: in Trencin, in 1981; in Roznava, in 1983; in Sturovo, in 1983; in Stara Lubovna, in 1983; and in Rychnov and Kneznaou, in 1984. At the same time, 141 television relay stations were set up. Thus, 41 basic and 2 booster transmitters for transmissions of the second television program were in operation in 1985, as well as 283 television relay stations. The network constructed enables good reception of the second television program for more than 70 percent of the inhabitants of our republic.

At present the relay stations are being built mostly from the means and capacities of the national committees; this enables the communications staff to concentrate increasingly on other important tasks.

Radio broadcasts received the same attention. Stereophonic broadcasts of Hvezda radio station were included in the ultra-short wave broadcasting network. The obsolete transmission technology in the medium wave band was replaced by more modern and efficient systems.

And what is the outlook for the eighth quinquennium? A further eight transmitters for the second television program are to be commissioned for operation: in Snina, Banska Stiavnica, Pacov, Zdiar and Sazavou, Svitavy, Chomutov, Votice, and Jihlava.

In 1990 the new municipal transmitter for the two television programs will also start transmitting television programs in our capital; construction has already started there. It will replace the Petrin transmitter. The new television transmitter for Prague will ensure transmission of three television and three radio programs; operation of the mobile radio-telephone network and radio relay communications; reception of satellite transmissions; and other communications services. Viewing areas and restaurants situated 97 meters high will be part of its 216-meter tower, which will become yet another dominant feature of our capital.

The transmission network of the second television program will fully exhaust the existing frequency possibilities. The dissemination of further television programs can be ensured for the future solely by new methods, namely, via direct satellite transmissions. Preparations for direct transmission of television and, gradually, also radio programs from satellites will start toward the end of the eighth quinquennium. It need not be stressed that this none-too-easy task can be ensured and coopted with only through broad international cooperation with the socialist countries, and above all the Soviet Union.

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CSO: 2400/271

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

FIRST BROADCAST OF 'MELODIE'--Bratislava (CTK)--The signature tune of the new radio station, MELODIA [Melody], will be heard for the first time today, at 1655 hours [1455 GMT]. Its musical broadcasts--which have a federal character but will initially be limited to the areas of Prague, Brno, and Bratislava--will be transmitted on ultra short waves in the CCIR band. The frequency for Prague and Central Bohemia will be 102.5 mhz; for Bratislava 101.8 mhz; and for Brno, temporarily, 1,485 khz on the mediumwave. As the station's name suggests, the main content of its broadcasts will be exclusively orchestral music in the interpretation of Czechoslovak and foreign soloists, groups, and orchestras. Every 30 minutes, the music will be interrupted for the time signal and every full hour the station will take over the newscast of the HVEZDA radio station. Transmission will end 7 minutes after midnight. [Text] [Prague ZEMEDELSE NOVINY in Czech 1 May 86 p 8] /9604

CC DEPARTMENT HEAD DIES--The Central Committee of the CPCZ, the Central Committee of the National Front of the Czechoslovak SR and the Czech National Council have issued an obituary on the death of Comrade Lubomir Prochazka, head of the department of Mass Organizations and National Committees of the CPCZ Central Committee, member of the Central Committee of the National Front of the CSSR, of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association and a deputy to the Czech National Council. [Excerpt] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 28 Apr 86] /9604

TELEVISION ACCORD WITH PRC--A three-member delegation of Czechoslovak television returned yesterday from the PRC. The delegation visited the PRC at the invitation of Central Chinese Television in order to sign an agreement on mutual cooperation. The agreement, which was signed in Beijing by the directors general of both televisions, envisages a payment-free exchange of documentary and news materials; a commercial exchange of dramas and serials, musical entertainment program and other television programs. The agreement also envisages exchanges of television crews and staffs for training and study purposes and mutual participation in television festivals. [Summary] [Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 28 Apr 86] /9604

APPOINTMENT OF NEW GENERALS--In Prague today, on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and our country's liberation by the Soviet Army, Colonel General Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense, announced the order of the president of the republic concerning the promotion and appointment of new generals of the Czechoslovak People's Army. The minister of national defense presented 36 people with the Order of the Red Star, awarded to them by the president of the republic. During the meeting with the generals and with those awarded, Milan Vaclavik praised their responsible work which contributes to the development of our army. He reminded that they should continue to develop their authority, their political and specialized preparedness, and their exemplary stance in work and in private life. Participating in the announcement of the president's order were Vladimir Blechta, director of a department of the CPCZ Central Committee; Colonel General Nikolay Zotov, senior representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states attached to the Ministry of National Defense; and other figures. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1330 GMT 5 May 86] /9604

CSO: 2400/271

POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG WEEKLY PROFILES EAST BERLIN MAYOR KRACK

Hamburg ZEIT MAGAZIN in German 4 Apr 86 pp 10-16, 20, 56-57

[Article by Peter Sager and Frieder Blickle: "Master of the City"]

[Text] A white wedding coach draws up on Marx-Engels-Forum. The bride with a veil, the bridegroom in tails, the couple strides through the portal into Red City Hall. Is DEFA [German Film Corporation] filming a love story? No, it is Saturday morning, and people are getting married in socialist Berlin as sumptuously as they used to do in the heyday of the bourgeoisie. The Hall of Arms in City Hall, the scene of the ceremony, is fully booked until the end of the year. Only divorced persons, in line with city protocol, are denied such splendor.

Red City Hall is a household term for any Berliner. It owes its name not to a political orientation but to the color of the brick. The red brick facade shines across the square between "Alex" and the Palace of the Republic. A mighty tower crowns this monument of bourgeois self-confidence from the middle of the 19th century. A little later Prussian Berlin became the capital of the German Empire.

In this city hall the physician Rudolf Virchow as city councilor saw to the health reform of Berlin, here Paul Singer as leader of the Worker's Party fought against slum housing, land speculation, and Bismarck's Socialists law, here Karl Liebknecht as a Social Democratic deputy engaged in class struggle at the municipal level, and in 1929 Wilhelm Pieck moved into Red City Hall at the head of the KPD deputies. Twenty years later he became the first president of the GDR.

Along with Doebelin's Alexanderplatz and Hitler's Chancellery, Red City Hall came to lie in ruins. Part of the Berlin of old, it was rebuilt, but now it was not the city hall of all of Berlin any more. Could there have been a better symbol than this city hall for the part of German history which the new worker-and-peasant state claimed as its heritage? The Reichstag [German parliament], sure; but it was not to be had. And what could be had (and saved)--the baroque town castle of the Hohenzollern--they did not want, and in 1950 its ruins were dynamited. Shortly thereafter the neighboring city hall was faithfully restored. So here resides the "lord mayor of Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic," as his official title reads.

His name? "I've no idea," says a construction worker in front of City Hall. Through Western television, East Berliners are more familiar with the West Berlin mayor than with their own.

After passing two people's policemen, one next to the concierge and the other in front of the mayor's office, I am standing before Erhard Krack. A man of medium height with a friendly and open gaze, strong hands--rather those of a work brigade worker--and the balanced voice of an experienced speaker. A party badge in his lapel and the chairman of the Council of State on the wall. But what in Honecker's name is a ship's bell doing on the lord mayor's desk?

"That was given to me by Rostock mariners because they knew that I too used to work in that field." "The Bell" by Erhard Krack [allusion to the ballad "The Bell" by Schiller]: Let us hear the ballad of the rise of the chief technologist of the Warnow shipyard to the post of lord mayor of the socialist capital.

The son of a furnace mechanic and a saleswoman, Erhard Krack was born in Danzig in 1931. He graduated from high school in Stralsund after the war and became a fitter's apprentice. At the age of 20 he joined the SED. He studied economics in Rostock, specializing in shipbuilding economics. After graduation he became chief technologist of the shipyard, party secretary, and chairman of the bezirk Economic Council. In 1966, at age 35, he became one of the youngest ministers of the GDR: minister for District Managed Industry and Foodstuffs Industry.

In this ministry with its complicated name, in the sensitive field of GDR supply, Erhard Krack gathered his organizational experience and merits. Praising him, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reported that during a visit to a fat-production plant in Erfurt the minister "gave pointers for small-scale mechanization, for instance in the collecting of the bristles, which on the pig slaughter assembly line is done by hand."

The republic not only thanked him for such action by awarding him the Fatherland Order of Merit, but in 1974 Comrade Krack became lord mayor of East Berlin. From minister to the head of a municipality: a modest promotion compared with the careers and affairs of West Berlin mayors, who became federal chancellor or federal president, figurehead, or at least the subject of a scandal. A gray mouse in Red City Hall, though? At least, Erhard Krack is ex officio a member of the GDR Council of Ministers--the only municipal head with the rank of minister.

In East Berlin too, however, just as anywhere in the Eastern bloc, the local administration is in the shadow of centralist party management. Political decisions are made at bezirk party headquarters, not in Red City Hall, where they are only implemented. Erhard Krack is a member of the SED Central Committee, not of the Politburo. For as long as a year East Berlin easily managed without a lord mayor: in 1979 he studied at the Academy for Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow. Since that time he has been said to nurse higher ambitions.



The lord mayor of the capital is in charge of the Bakery Goods Combine, the VEB Berlin Knitware, energy supply, and part of the arts, such as the Gorki Theater, the Friedrichstadtpalast, and "Die Distel," the cabaret safety valve of the republic. City-owned enterprises manufacture such useful things as bicycle valves, heating pads, coffee machines, and plastic helmets. About 60 percent of the 560,000 East Berlin apartments belong to the city (the rest being privately owned or under cooperative administration).

As head of the Services Combine, the lord mayor is also responsible for umbrella repairs, for the city barbers, as well as for Tatra and Ikarus, the generally overcrowded streetcars and buses with their stable unitary fare of 20 pfennigs--in force since 1949. Erhard Krack has to live with the black taxis but can sport the "White Fleet," the popular excursion boats on the Dahme, Spree, and the Mueggelsee.

In the management of the various departments the lord mayor is assisted by 25 municipal councilors, including only 3 women. When it comes to leading bodies, the equal rights extolled in the GDR are not valid. Comrade Krack is the supreme boss of the approximately 80,000 employees of city-owned enterprises. Together with the state-owned enterprises, they produce annually about 88 percent of the city budget (in 1986 about 7.2 billion marks).

From 15 to 30 petitions a day land on Erhard Krack's desk. "I read them all. Everyone gets an answer signed by me personally." East Berlin's lord mayor likes to present himself as a man of the people. However, I am not permitted to witness any of his many official actions, any more than his weekly audience for citizens. During the little walk around town no citizen addresses him.

With his New York counterpart, Ed Koch, the "entertainer" in public service, Erhard Krack only has the initials in common. "They keep saying, 'Krack is not at all well known.' I really am not: I have no scandals." Not even an anecdote about him makes the rounds. To make up for it, he tells me the latest "rather than" joke: "Rather backward into an Intershop than forward to the 11th party congress!"

Erhard Krack is considered a pragmatist, not an ideologue. "Sound" is a favorite word of his, and he himself makes a sound impression. Married, two children, a place of his own in Koepenick, not in the VIP ghetto of Wandlitz. He likes to tinker in his hobby basement ("I repair anything that comes my way"), would rather go and see an opera than a play ("never a premiere, that's too official; I go with my family"). He is a fan of the Vorwaerts soccer club, and because he wants to be a lord mayor for all people also a fan of the Dynamo club. He used to play European handball, as right half on the Motor Rostock team. Now he and other City Hall bigwigs work up a sweat at 6 in the morning twice a week: Exercise bike, treadmill, 300 strokes in the rowing machine, and squash. Thus, he remains fit for the curves of everyday life.

Does Erhard Krack like to attend formal occasions of the metropolis? "If I wanted to spend my evenings at diplomatic receptions, I could leave the house in January and come back again December." He likes to take advantage of his travel privilege, though.

East Berlin's lord mayor is an honorary citizen of Mexico City. There he studied the problem of "nonlevel crossings," whereas in Warsaw and Stockholm he looked into the restoration of historic districts. Erhard Krack knows his counterparts in Moscow, Rome, Athens, and Toronto. Only his closest neighbor in Schoeneberg City Hall--6 kilometers away as the crow flies--Eberhard Diepgen, he does not know.

The GDR metropolis maintains partnerships with 39 capitals in East and West, including Prague, Tokyo, Paris, and Vienna. And how about a city partnership with Bonn? "Why not?" Erhard Krack replies; "after all, Bonn is the capital of the Federal Republic."

At least one letter he has written to Bonn Lord Mayor Hans Daniels--an appeal for international disarmament. "After all, we are a 'city of peace' and are adhering to our duty to do everything possible to prevent Berlin being destroyed again." The title "city of peace," awarded by the World Peace Council, Berlin shares with other symbolic cities, such as Wroclaw, Atlanta, or Managua.

Among all the events in Red City Hall, from the award of the Goethe Prize to honoring the best streetcar driver, the best kindergarten teachers, or the "master craftsmen of tomorrow," Erhard Krack attached special importance to one tradition. "Once a year, we receive all of Berlin's rubble women. There are still 137 of them. We see to it that these rubble women are always all right." City Hall given them preferential treatment by getting apartments for them or sees to their being cared for by People's Solidarity. "That is a sacred cause for us."

It is not for nothing that in front of Red City Hall there stands Fritz Cremer's bronze monument of the "rubble woman"--as a solemn symbol of reconstruction, a key figure of this city and its fate. "Berlin, an etching by Churchill based on an idea by Hitler. Berlin, the heap of ruins near Potsdam": this definition which Brecht wrote into his diary in 1948 was valid for the entire city. But in East Berlin the trauma of destruction was followed only by the laborious effort of reconstruction--not by an economic miracle--and the new trauma of division.

A Berlin population shrunk by about one-third, half of all its houses totally destroyed, and more than 70 million cubic meters of debris--that is what remained of Hitler's "world capital Germania." With the slogan "Let's go at the junk and get out of these ruins," the "national effort of reconstruction" of the GDR began. In the year in which East Berlin was founded, seven apartments a day were built; in 1985 the number was about 90 a day. The motto of the present mass initiative: "For a more beautiful capital Berlin--lend a hand!" The party's planned target, according to Honecker: "To solve the housing question as a social problem by the year 1990." By then East Berlin will need about another 100,000 new apartments. Says graduate optimist Erhard Krack, already busy with "Horizon 2050": "That job has been taken care of as far as we are concerned."

The 1.2-million metropolis is growing by about 10,000 inhabitants annually. "We are a city excelling in births." But East Berlin is also the city with the greatest number of divorces in the republic. "We are increasingly concerned about applications for apartments by divorced persons and juveniles," they say in City Hall; such applications have "increased to an extraordinary degree."

#### A Berlin Which Looked Impressive From Space

About 50,000 persons who are on their own are seeking an apartment in Berlin at present, plus 25,000 families. A huge satellite town has already gone up in Marzahn. Next to it, there is another giant suburban development--Hohenschonenhausen, East Berlin's 10th District, with about 30,000 inhabitants so far. The average age is 22, compared with which West Berlin is a veritable old people's home.

Marzahn, a march village when Erhard Krack assumed office, now has a population of more than 160,000. A concrete plateau, triste and without any charm--WBS [residential development] 70. This "residential development" with its prefabricated parts characterizes the new socialist homeland throughout the republic. "We had misgivings ourselves that a war might break out in Marzahn," says East Berlin chief architect Roland Korn. But what with low rents, creches, schools, stores, comparatively good transport connections, the people adjusted to the public laying batteries. In contrast with the Maerkisches Viertel, West Berlin's notorious big development, I saw hardly any traces of vandalism and few graffiti in Marzahn. "We don't have any spray cans here," says Roland Korn. In the city's Golden Book, GDR astronaut Sigmund Jaehn praises "socialist Berlin, which we found so impressive from space." He had the required distance.

In light of the monotonous and anonymous high rise blocks downtown, the former Stalinallee makes a downright charming impression despite its crumbling tile facades. Now called Karl-Marx-Allee, it was long disparaged as having been built in the Moscow gingerbread style, but what a grand design that still was, with classicist decorations and a broad green boulevard--in 1952, before the start of the uniform industrial architecture in the GDR.

In the past few years there has been an increase in the renovation of old housing in East Berlin. In addition the city wants to make living in the downtown area more attractive by building small-scale new construction. The latest showpiece: Ernst-Thaelmann-Park on the land of a former gas works in the middle of Prenzlauer Berg District.

What chief architect Roland Korn presents to me as exemplary renovation met with fierce protests by citizens' initiatives in the Kiez. Razed among other things, though under protection as a historic building, was an exemplary piece of 19th century industrial architecture. In its place now stands a monstrous Thaelmann statue, bigger even than Lenin at the Friedrichshain and likewise the work of a Soviet sculptor. "Was ~~none~~ of us qualified?" asks an East Berlin woman artist; "and here I thought that time was behind us."

Another says: "That is supposed to beat the Prenzelberg over the head. First the STASI [State Security Service] moves into the new apartments, and then it moves into the bars."

Prenzlauer Berg--East Berlin's Kreuzberg--is the most densely populated city district with the worst old buildings and the most vital scene. This traditional workers district is populated by artists, dropouts, and nonconformists. Prenzlauer Berg is Erhard Krack's election district. To engage in housing reform here, to bring light and air into the backyards without destroying the milieu--a hard nut for the lord mayor to crack.

In East Berlin, the biggest industrial city of the GDR, 100,000 trees are planted annually. "We must maintain 80 square meters of green per inhabitant," demands Erhard Krack. A newly established city "Environmental Inspection Bureau" is to contribute to this. As yet East Berlin's thermal power stations puff so much sulfur dioxide into the undivided sky that a smog alarm is sounded in West Berlin two or three times a year.

When Erhard Krack talks about the accomplishments of his 12 years in office, he mentions such elementary everyday things as day nurseries for everyone (35 pfennings a day), reducing the number of students per class (to an average of 21), and improving shopping and transport. The latest suggestion--to use the potholes in the streets of Berlin as flowerpots--comes from the Distel cabaret.

#### Visitors to Jubilee Are Welcome--and Especially Foreign Currency

One of the 450 major construction sites of his capital, the lord mayor wants to show us in person--the quarter around Saint Nicholas' Church, the historical core of the city, the cradle of Berlin. The fact that this showpiece of the pending 750-year jubilee is located in the eastern part of the city, right next to City Hall, is also something of a piece of luck from the dialectical point of view.

We pass the arcades of Marx-Engels-Forum to reach the bank of the Spree. This is where merchants founded two settlements, Coelln and Berlin, mentioned first in records of 1237. With these first separated and highly competitive sister towns, in such a twin-headed way, began "the history of the Berlin abnormality" which Heinz Ohff described so brilliantly in his latest book.

In the center of the completely bombed out quarter stands the reconstructed Saint Nicholas' Church, a jewel of the brick Gothic style. Grouped around the church are modern apartment buildings with shops and bars and buildings faithfully reconstructed in detail in their historical style, including the inn "Zum Nussbaum," where [the painter] Heinrich Zille guzzled his glass of beer, and the wonderful Rococo palace of Veitel Ephraim, the Jewish court banker (with original facade parts recently returned by West Berlin to East Berlin as part of the exchange of cultural assets). "Everything erected by youth brigades," says the lord mayor: "one stone, one mortar, one beer!"

Things which, mostly, never stood here at all are being reconstructed with a love for detail. The historical core: a historical collage, a facade also for construction sins of the past. What definitely could have been restored--an entire old town district on the Fischerinsel next door, part of medieval Coelln--was ruthlessly torn down 20 years ago and replaced by high rise buildings. That makes the reconstruction of the Saint Nicholas quarter sadly grotesque. But it also demonstrates a basic change of consciousness which is not only economically motivated. "First the new socialist capital was to overgrow the old one," says chief architect Roland Korn; "now the new is to integrate harmoniously with the old."

Of this too the Saint Nicholas quarter is an example: next to historic bourgeois buildings, historicizing new buildings; concrete facades made of standard prefabricated parts with arcades, capitals, and new gothic gables--a socialist ultramodern style. After the museum island, now the Berlin milieu island; it is the same as in the reconstruction of the latticework houses on the Frankfurt Roemerberg, the same need for the parlors of history, for an urbane prayer corner. "Soon," said Lord Mayor Krack, "it will be possible to walk from the Saint Nicholas quarter along the Spree to the Weidendammer Bruecke." For him this jubilee is a historical game at home, with his own team the historical victor on its home grounds. Visitors welcome, especially foreign currency.

Now, it is not only East Berlin but all of Berlin that is reaching the age of 750. What with decades of division and centuries of common history, would it be possible in preparing for the Siamese city jubilee to make certain things easier for one another by providing information, perhaps even coordination without regard to questions of political status? An official offer to this effect by his counterpart Eberhard Diepgen has never been answered officially by Erhard Krack. "No," he says to me, "what one does over there, one does over there; we are doing our thing. I have to proceed from reality; otherwise I dislocate everything. It is bitter, but that is the way it is. Anything else is illusion. What is going to come of it? No one knows."

Berlin, "city of peace" and of the wall, capital of the German dilemma. Does Erhard Krack ever feel like the lord mayor of half a city? He says: "I do not suffer from this deficiency." So it is a deficiency after all? "As far as I am concerned, Berlin measures 403 square kilometers and has been capital of the GDR ever since 1949. That is what I am responsible for. I read about the other but am not interested in it at all. We have enough worries of our own."

The general development plan of the City of East Berlin extends to the year 2000, in certain sectors of the infrastructure to Horizon 2050." Does West Berlin play any kind of part in this? "Does not exist, does not exist as far as we are concerned," says the lord mayor, almost as convincingly as Palmstroem when [in Morgenstern's poem] he dialectically denied that his traffic accident had happened "because what is not permitted cannot be."

## Two Berlin Lord Mayors Without Any Official Contact

As a "phenomenon" or "peculiar special entity" West Berlin is a blank spot on the East Berliners' city maps, a no-go area, a no-man's-land. In the Hall of Arms of Red City Hall, though, Berlin is still undivided, the colored window coats-of-arms of all 20 districts reflecting the Greater Berlin municipality of old. During the reconstruction of City Hall, the first East Berlin lord mayor, Friedrich Ebert, son of the president of the Weimar Republic, also had the coats-of-arms of all of Berlin newly installed. That was as programmatic as the name which the SED City Council at that time gave to the Blienicker Bruecke between West Berlin and Potsdam, calling it "Bridge of Unity."

Today the divided and double city stands again where it began 750 years ago, before the citizens of Coelln and Berlin erected the first common city hall on the Lange Bruecke across the Spree. Today there are two Berlin lord mayors without any official contact. Common communal problems are handled like foreign policy questions; sewerage proceeds at the government level. Only representatives of GDR ministries, not the city, can negotiate with the West Berlin Senat. It in turn coordinates in advance with the Federal Government and the allies, in accordance with the 4-power agreement of 1971. East Berlin's lord mayor does not participate in such talks about his city. "There is nothing peculiar about that," says Erhard Krack; "something good has come of it."

"There are massive common interests but much too few contacts," people in the West Berlin Senat comment. Of course, they say, in an emergency there also exist direct lines in addition to the talks of specialists of both sides. "In case of oil pollution we receive advance warning by telephone from the locks. West Berlin's locks are under the Reich Main Waterways Administration in East Berlin, just as the GDR runs the S-Bahn [intraurban electric railroad] for the whole of Berlin."

Despite the wall and despite the separate development of both parts for decades, historical district connections and road and track networks have not been cut off completely. "We make certain" that these "outlets" remain open, says Georg Wittwer, state secretary on the Berlin Senat for urban development and protection of the environment. "It is my impression and hope that our counterparts in East Berlin are doing exactly the same, that nothing is blocked off but points of contact are maintained."

Construction boom and random planning have destroyed old structures and fields of vision at a number of places in West Berlin. "In East Berlin developments have been less negative than here in that field," says Wittwer. The most striking development of the past few years on both sides: "Again an approach to the wall." Back to the lost center?

After the Platz der Akademie, East Berlin is now also restoring the bordering Friedrichstrasse, making it, according to Honecker, "the most attractive



shopping street of our capital." West Berlin at long last wants to tend its wasteland next to the Reichstag building, as a "central sector" and new political center. According to the senator for urban development, these are considered "not coordinated but, it is hoped, not merely accidental" corrections or former East-West shifts, "bringing the city together again to a greater extent at the most important points."

Whoever like me has grown up with Bonn and the small-German solution is not affected by any "capital" feelings in West Berlin. I do, however, still sense that East Berlin is still the historical center, and I see where the other metropolis was able to take root more consistently than Adenauer's provisional entity on the Rhine. To make an impression as half a city requires double the effort. Wherever socialist patriotism is stubbornly kept within bounds Prussian glory is enlisted to help out.

Frederick the Great has long been riding again in the Unter den Linden deadend street. Soon Bismarck too will be standing somewhere again. The brothers Humboldt, I understand, cannot stand the Berlin air any longer, and their statues in front of the university are being replaced by copies. Soon there will be hackney coaches with [VW] Golf engines; how will the coaches be able to keep up with them, "Die Distel" wonders.

I walk across to the museum island, which will be restored in the next few years at an expense of 2.5 million marks. "The Americans will be disappointed," says a guard, "when soon they will not be able to take any pictures of ruins in Berlin any longer." Schinkel's Schauspielhaus [theater], his Friedrichwerdersche Kirche [church], Franzoesischer Dom [French cathedral], Keutscher Dom [German cathedral]: the more Berlin's fixed starts will shine again, the duller the impression, even by a neo-German showpiece such as the Palace of the Republic, referred to as the "Central Lamp Store."

Two cities in one, a city in two worlds, Berlin, you doppelgaenger on the Spree, divided, indivisible, torn apart, jaws locked in one another, drifted apart and walled in, excluded and written off, tied by love, hate, blood, tears, by glances, dreams, airlift, escape tunnel, border crossings, sunsets, tied by words and divided by words: Berlin, Pankow, capital, partial city, front city, brother-and-sister city, city of the world, demimonde city, World Youth Festival city, city of many slogans, paradoxes and embarrassments, "Berlin does you good," Berlin hurts.

I wonder what Erhard Krack is doing at this moment. Is he watching progress from Red City Hall? Is he thinking of his overthrown comrade Konni Neumann, of his own reelection in June--which is as sure as his annual family vacation on Ruegen? Or is he hungry for a Grilletta, as hamburgers are called here? No, he is working on "Horizon 2050." He himself, Erhard Krack, by then will long since have looked at the potatoes from below, his daughter will be 71 years old--and Berlin? "God never abandons a good Marxist," his recently deceased

colleague in Madrid used to be fond of saying. Erhard Krack's motto:  
"There is a solution for everything."

I leave the GDR capital through one of its emergency solutions, the hole  
in the wall on Heinrich-Heine-Strasse. Heinrich Heine is the favorite  
author of the lord mayor of East Berlin.

8790/6662

CSO: 2300/315

3 June 1986

POLITICS

POLAND

## PZPR DRAFT PROGRAM STIMULATES DISCUSSION

## Economic, Social, Political Issues Argued

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 8 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by Zbyslaw Rykowski: "Opening Address for Discussion of the Program: Rules of the Game"]

[Text] In the first discussions, the presented draft for the party program has been accused of not being a thrilling one. One can find in these accusations some longing for the atmosphere of the first years and for simple and clear slogans full of hope that our ideals will soon be fulfilled and that progress is inevitable and universal. However, it is no longer possible to write a program in this way. The program can no longer be a revolutionary document because we are no longer standing at the end of an old system and looking at the start of a new one. We can no longer change everything radically overnight. Everyone knows this well. And the basic, far-reaching socialist slogans that once called on us to fight to change our lives have now become part of our everyday equipment. These slogans do not outline the future but the standards for the present. We also cannot entice the people with a program of wild promises so it is good that we steer clear of them.

A program can and should stir the imagination, direct peoples' thoughts toward the future, shape alternative thinking and allow everyone to make their own choices and plans. The program should present the future as a game whose outcome is not at all foreseeable. The program should state how this game for the future is to be won. It should be coldly consistent and therefore bold in nature. And it must be convincing.

I am not commenting on the program because I find it uninspiring but rather because I think it is too traditional, cautious and not always internally cohesive.

In thinking of the future, one cannot continually refer to the past. Nor can the text of the program continually refer to Poland's situation in the 1930's. It is often pointed out that over the last 40 years we have made up more than half of the distance between us and the most developed nations in the world. "That's true," say young people "but in certain important areas today we still hold among European nations the very same rank we did before the war. After all, when the program speaks of the need to meet the requirements of the modern world and keep pace with changes in civilization, it also speaks not only of our age-old backwardness but of new gaps. Why have we been late for the second industrial revolution and why will we always have to fight to catch up? Will we always have to copy capitalist forms of progress (and on a lower level)? When will we finally see the results of efficient production, good work organization, well-planned land management and a better standard of living?".

The program could once again explain the sources of the present social flaws in developed capitalism and how the historical growth of both socialism and capitalism has differed. Such didactics can explain many things but not all. It is not enough to demonstrate the structural crisis of capitalism but we must also properly assess and appreciate its ability to adapt.

One can understand complaints that youth lack appreciation and pride at our achievements and criticize them unfairly. But we must also understand that youth has inherited more failures than it has finished factories and schools. Criticism of this inherited state of affairs is understandable because it is quite natural to compare one's own standard of living with that of the richest countries.

Socialism will justify the validity of its chief premises to the young generation if it meets the challenge of capitalism and successfully brings our country out of its state of backwardness and if it can be productive enough on its own to give our youth both its own original lifestyle free of any pressure to copy capitalism as well as the freedom to make their own choices. The program states the basic Polish dilemma: either we proceed as we always have and suffer low efficiency and general stagnation or struggle to attain clear growth in efficiency and progress giving us better lives.

The choice is simple. Who would ever choose stagnation? For many years now, we have untold times adjured a material- and energy-efficient economy, the manufacture of new high-quality products, better organization, less waste of work time and the end of "bureaucratic redundancy", etc. So many times the newspapers have looked for reserves, television has restored broken cooperative ties and conferences have shortened the road from idea to deed. If we have long known what to do, then why have we done so little? In case everyone has forgotten it, the moral of our economy is that human activity is first of all governed by interest and only after that by any sense of good will or responsibility. Can the program offer a real breakthrough and switch from an extensive economy to an intensive one? I think it can but I feel that it is too ambiguous, cautious and not entirely consistent.

The chief principle for the organization of society should be social fairness -- the division of wealth according to the amount and quality of work. As a program for revolution, fairness above all meant the elimination of exploitation. Socialism began with the abolition of social inequality which was in itself unfair. And later, negative fairness (that some not live at the expense of others) came to dominate positive fairness (that each have all that he deserves). This unfair equality began to inhibit growth and was the cause of general stagnation.

The program states: "We must give full social recognition and full material and moral satisfaction to those who work hard". However, the full implications of this statement do not emerge. What does it mean? It is no laughing matter but the reconstruction of society, its new stratification and new class differences. With the switch to a new form of production, social costs cannot be avoided.

The program calls for the joining of "motivational functions of distribution, strong incentives for increased labor productivity" with social security. As a general principles, this sounds good. However, what does it mean in practice? How much differentiation in earnings can we allow?

How much can we gain by fighting for something better than mediocrity and how much do we stand to lose if we remain mediocre? I am not against social security -- it is a great accomplishment but large groups of people still enjoy too little of it while others have too much. What are its limits? What is it supposed to provide and for whom?

Our practice up to now has shown us that social security will always win out over incentives and limit their influence. It therefore lowers production and increases claims. And that is how our Polish common denominator of discontent came into being. If we are to make any progress, we will see it benefit some people a great deal while others will profit little or none at all.

The program states that by the year 2000, "it will be possible to improve the public's standard of living by 50 percent per capita". Let us add it up. If every citizen were to gain equal benefit from this increase, his consumption would have to increase by 3.3 percent each year. Can the possibility for such an improvement in the standard of living be seen as a motivation? After all, we must assume that people's aspirations will not remain at the same level but that they will increase by more than three percent each year.

Therefore, we can conclude that in order to arouse the necessary public will to make the breakthrough, we must provide them with very clear and unambiguous stimuli. Some people will have to move forward to drag the others along. Some people will stand in place. Who will move forward and who will stand in place? That in itself is the most important problem in the program discussions and negotiations. It would be a simple matter if it were simply an issue of good hard-working people having better lives than do-nothings. However, not every well-done job can be rewarded in the same way. A good idea may turn out to be much more valuable than a month of routine drudgery.

If in the creation of national wealth an important contribution is supposed to be made by a "creative attitude, initiative and industry," then people that have these qualities should also have their own participation in the distribution of that wealth.

Unless enterprise is stimulated, there will be no acceleration or breakthroughs. That is not so apparent to everyone. In my own time, when I have written editorials calling for enterprise, I was opposed by the spokesmen for a more conservative state of affairs. Even now the Wroclaw weekly SPRAWY I LUDZIE began its discussion of the party program by fussing over that word as the key to fears that "with the appearance of a new word comes not only new letters but a new spirit...". Let that mean that political management cease being a type of enterprise that gives opportunities to shrewd individuals. Let it mean that enterprise be part of the price not only in Polonis firms but in steel mills as well. Let that mean that state-owned enterprises (where does that word come from!?) compete efficiently with basement entrepreneurs and earn billions on the sale of useful products rather than from subsidies and pay enterprising engineers and workers more with its profits and less with threats so that they will not run away to where things are better.

Creative enterprise is not only a way of increasing efficiency. It is also a means of human self-realization and earning a living from socially useful work. It is a means of transforming indifferent and apathetic people into participants. It is also a reorientation from a life style of consumption to one of production.

It is enterprise that can be the modern form of social activity.

Youth are not satisfied with the same justifications of socialism that were good enough for their elders. With the present crisis of authority, institutions and concepts, the stagnation can be broken if people are given a chance to act according to their own ideas and do something new and original.

The system should find some way of bringing together individual and group enterprise and see that everyone profit from that.

What is needed is for social order to emerge from from the inevitable action of rules of play that are obvious to all and for young people to know that that if they study hard, they will receive better jobs. Employees must know that they will be evaluated according to the results of their own work and that of their place of work. Everyone must know what to count on. For certain, the rules of play should be based on secure living under socialism.

The road to such a state of clarity is not an easy one. This is above all true because we are and will be burdened by imbalances and shortages. As long as every produced item, regardless of its cost, is going to be torn from our hands, any appeals for efficiency and clear rules of play will be no more than just that. After all, we have already been shown this in our experience so far with economic reform. How are we to reconcile the needs of today with the demands of tomorrow? Is it possible to avoid radical changes? Is it not



better to renounce some things now than bear them for years? These are also problems that need to be discussed.

The consequences of the program's strategy for development will not only be social differentiation as the result of the action of social fairness. It will also be the sort of differentiation that is caused by unavoidable changes in the structure of the economy and in scientific and technical progress. We must loudly state that there will be social groups (including certain groups within the major industrial working class) that will find themselves in a worse position than others "through no fault of their own". Such a fate will meet employees of obsolete, inefficient and polluting plants and factories that do not manufacture preferred new products. Some of the worker groups that are in a privileged position today will have to lose these privileges. This will not be done with no regard for creative mental work nor without any consideration of changes in the structure of the working class. One would be right to feel that the groups that have something to lose will not do so without some resistance. It cannot be excluded that they will unconsciously hinder the changes or support conservatism. The reform policy will therefore be much harder to implement.

The program demands that the party express the interests of the working class and "oppose any attempts to weaken its class orientation or treat worker interests lightly". What is that supposed to mean in the light of the present and even more so the future differentiation of the working class? -- that this differentiation must take place so that through a new advance to modern productivity the working class will become integrated on a new and higher level. How are we to harmonize the conflicting interests of various worker groups to express present interests and not at the same time give in to the pressure of the existing state of affairs?

Policy should not only alleviate the social effects of structural changes and technical progress. It should also and perhaps above all create the conditions that make possible social mobility and the transition to more productive work from factory to factory, industry to industry and from lower qualifications to higher.

In the newly-differentiated society, importance will be gained by equal opportunities in education, acquiring new skills and participation in culture. This must be not only declared equality but also real equality. Do we have the means to bring this about? The needs are enormous and everyone of them is convincingly real.

Whether or not the structural changes succeed depends on how resistant the policy is to compromise. Will the priorities be respected if the program promises resources to almost everyone for almost everything including the "development and modernization of rural sports and recreational facilities"? One sees in this the influence of our present habits: every branch strives to "hook onto the plan". The program must free itself of these habits, gain control over spontaneous changes and establish what is really most important.

Forcing open the doors would prove that the form of government has a fundamental influence on the results of management and that bureaucratic autocracy hinders greater efficiency just as much as democracy encourages it. But what form of democracy? The experiences with plebiscite democracy are very illuminating. Setting the price of a stick of butter through a general referendum does not make a democracy but sets the government in opposition to society. The concept of social agreements recently proposed by Professor Mariusz Gulczynski differs substantially from that form of democracy. Should the program incorporate social agreements?

Social agreements acknowledge the economic, philosophical and cultural differences in our society and clearly oppose uniformity. The diversity that under an autocratic regime must be seen as a destructive force becomes an agent for progress. democracy. Conflicts of interest cannot be avoided. We must therefore rationalize them to make it possible to organize people for the common good and create clear rules of play of interests, procedures for considering them and establishing their hierarchy within the political system. That is also a means of overcoming the polarization of society and using citizens' initiatives to fill the vacuum left by the center.

The introduction of worker self-government was of signal importance and changed the significance of the role of trade unions. It seems that a further step in this direction might be the creation of conditions for increased activity by various unions. The Polish pre-war law on worker unions is an obvious anachronism. Doubts are aroused by the programs concept of unions as expressed in the following: "Respecting the self-government and every creative initiative of the union movement, the party will be working to concentrate the movement's energies on the most important problems and interests of the working people". That is just why we have a party system, PRON and the Sejm, after all. And we have our unions to give expression to problems that are important to various public interest groups.

Under the pressure of economic problems, we are inclined to instrumentally deal with the forms and methods of government but democracy under socialism is supposed to reflect popular rule, equal rights and freedom of the individual and is therefore of ideopathic value. Therefore, when we read in the program that the growth of socialist democracy "should take place above all thanks to the broader enjoyment of existing rights and institutions and greater public activity under the present forms of popular rule", we cannot avoid wondering just why those rights and institutions go unused. Polls and observations among citizens show that only a too-small minority of citizens is ready to become involved in public affairs.

Following periods of activity, the institutions of democracy become more ceremonial and obedient to the authorities. They come to life most often when local or factory interests fall under the coercion of the central government. Barely a year had passed since the elections and the Warsaw Municipal People's Council had to make its councilors sign attendance rolls before leaving meetings to prevent them from going out before they were concluded.

We cannot blame poor preparation for government alone for these problems because it is only the actual practice of government that gives people the skills they need. The greatest enthusiasts become discouraged because of the lack up to now of any clear connection between public action and its results. This connection would be much more obvious if the guiding role of the party were made clearer than before in organs of popular representation rather than as direct influence on the government. Such an arrangement of political leadership would also make real the possibility of advancement within the government for nonpartisans.

Our political culture has a constructive conflict that gives life to institutions. professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz has stated his views on the need for a so-called constructive opposition that would not be a formalized and established rival force but a source of alternative opinion about specific decisions and issues that has the necessary prerogatives to allow it to influence the decision-making process. It seems that several previous examples of the practical realization of this concept (during the discussion of changes in the penal law and the updating of the law on higher education) have confirmed its value.

The program calls for a greater amount of democracy in electoral law. We must applaud this as an extremely important provision. However, what is really important is that we be not only able to choose between the personal characteristics of candidates with the same political views but also that the diversity of views constitutionally represented be expanded.

For what reason would the diversity of views found within the press not be expressed within institutions of popular representation? After all, our newspapers have to a great extent become a form of political parliament for us.

Socialist doctrine has placed a greater value on the individual's freedom to do things rather than freedom from things. The modern state is a complicated organism made up of completely inter-related and interacting elements. In the citizen's relationship to the state, the importance of positive freedom has not diminished any but at the same time, the importance of negative freedoms, the freedom from certain things, has grown and has above all strengthened the citizen's position in relation to the omnipotence of the state.

Freedom is a political category. The program states that as threats to the existence of the government decline: "its defensive functions based on means of class coercion will be proportionally decreased". That is good because the ideals of socialism can then show the full force of their strength when they are no longer required to use force.

Socialism demonstrates its good sense when it is able to carry out changes, control them and realize their values.

3 June 1986

## Commission Group Meets on Draft Program

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15-16 Mar 86 p 4

[Article by r: "In the Congress Commission Group: Work on a Draft for the PZPR Program"]

[Text] (Own information) On Friday, 14 March, a meeting of the Congress Commission Group was held to work on the PZPR Program. The meeting was chaired by Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary.

The course of the group's work was discussed and it was established that its members will be taking part in 8 ideological and theoretical problem conferences organized by the provincial party committees. During these conferences, certain portions of the draft to the party program will be discussed. In Lodz, there will be a discussion about the working class as the leading force for socialist change, in Gdansk, the meeting will consider the goals and tasks of the nation's social and economic development, in Poznan, the development of the socialist political system will be discussed and in Warsaw, the PZPR's attitude toward the basic problems of the modern world will be considered. Similar discussions will be held in certain professional groups such as teachers, cultural figures and technical white-collar workers.

In its two plenary meetings, the group has summarized the results of party and national discussion of the draft for the PZPR Program in order to present the gathered recommendations and observations to the Central Committee and prepare a final version of the draft in time for the 10th party congress.

The opinion has been expressed that an important impulse to the next stage of discussion will be the publication soon of themes covering the most important social and economic tasks and goals for the present 5-year period.

The group acknowledged that the entire discussion of the program draft and themes concerned itself not only with the affirmation of these documents but also with making a creative contribution to them so that they will form the best basis for party activity. Satisfaction was expressed at the fact that the group is receiving from various social groups an increasing number of recommendations and ideas on the program draft.

## Heated Discussion in Kalisz

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Mar 86 p 2

[Article by Zbigniew Menes: "On the Draft to the Party Program: Speaking Earnestly About Shared Issues"]

[Text] (Own information) At the PZL Transportation Equipment Factory in Kalisz, the city's largest factory, discussions about the draft of the party program are being held in 19 primary party organizations and on the forum of 6 problems groups formed on the party's initiative.

"In this way," said the first secretary of the factory PZPR committee, Jan Olszewski, "we can more thoroughly and efficiently discuss this document and at the same time obtain the right observations, recommendations and ideas. This form of discussion has, after all, met with the approval of our workers because it is the simplest and clearest.

"Along with the discussion over the program draft, individual talks are taking place between 628 members and candidates of the factory party organization. The factory PZPR committee already has a list of recommendations and observations that the employees have made about this document.

"I am looking over these still-unfinished protocols and texts which are later to be organized and compiled".

Bronislaw Urban had some interesting ideas about the party's personnel policy. "The present system is still imperfect," he stated "because it is often the case that one member of a family is the director of a socialist enterprise while the other is the owner of a private shop. And what's more, the children are employed by control agencies. We really must eliminate such situations".

In this context, Eugeniusz Makowski put it quite simply: "I cannot afford to but I put in a lot of time at the factory so I can buy a bicycle while a private businessman can buy a car with no trouble. So who is it that runs this state?" he asked. "The working class as the guiding force in socialist construction or a small group that is getting rich at the expense of most of the rest of society?"

Despite the fact that the employees' discussion of the draft to the party program has lasted more than a month at the PZL plant, it is already quite rich in content and the themes that have been brought up reflect problems and issues that bother everyone.

In the words of Henryk Fraczak: "We work honestly and fervently and many of us have lost our health. Do we still have to work overtime to make ends meet and ruin our family life? That is not our ambition even though all of us wish to see our plant become one of the leading ones in Poland and for employment here to be a distinction".

These and other such statements attest to the great interest in the draft to the party program and the fact that everyone wants to add his own "brick" to the final version.

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CSO: 2600/364

POLITICS

POLAND

CARDINAL GLEMP'S EASTER MESSAGE RATES REGIME

AU031435 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 28-31 Mar 86 pp 1, 2

["The Polish Primate's Message at Easter 1986--Light and Power for Moral Rebirth"]

[Excerpts] Beloved brothers and sisters, the resurrection of Jesus Christ lights us the way to the very foundation of Christian faith. "Christ has risen from the dead. Alleluiah!" This is what the faithful sing in every church on the morning of resurrection.

The church regards resurrection as the boon created by Jesus Christ, a boon that the faithful can always draw on for support. This support enables them to constantly reject a sinful way of life and to refresh themselves in the stream of grace. We can say that every case in which bad life becomes good, sinful life becomes saintly, selfish life becomes charitable, and criminal life becomes orderly is the gift of the grace of resurrection, which helps to renew human life. This boon is being bestowed not only on individuals, but also on the entire church, because the church also needs moral renewal and the recharging of the values that can be weakened by the tremors of the changing world. The history of the world also includes moral phenomena through which man's resolve to better get to know himself and to become better continues to be renewed. The Second Vatican Council was such a phenomenon.

Today we view this council from the position of the Bishops' Synod last year. We know that this synod stressed the need to renew the teachings of the council, to reject erroneous interpretations, to root out neglect, and to implement the great and difficult truths in our lives. The synod teaches that during Easter we should see the unity of the cross and resurrection. "We must reject the inclination toward adaptation to existing conditions, which is only too easy, but which leads to the laicization of the church. On the other hand, the community of the faithful must not become isolated. We must believe in the mission of the comprehensive salvation of the world."

Today when the synod continues to provide incentives for our society's moral renewal and when preparations for the Eucharistic Congress are about to begin--this congress is to help to change the moral image of our nation through consecration--we cannot help recalling the 1966 millennium celebrations of our country's Christianization.



It is true that the great and consistent efforts made at that time to improve ourselves have not made all our countrymen morally perfect. Alcoholism, divorce, abortion, loose morals, disrespect for public property, and shoddy work have continued to spread. However, no statistics are there to demonstrate how much good the church has done and how much wrongdoing it has prevented, because the church's work at moral renewal is being done in human hearts and consciences. Wrongdoing is vociferous and glaring, but doing good is silent. Yet it is part and parcel of our reality and is responsible for the fact that we behaved as we did at the moment of our most severe crises.

We should bear in mind that the church's work to morally renew man not only has not been supported by the lay quarters, but has even been undermined by them. Side by side with the demoralization coming from the West, the principles of the officially accepted ideology have asserted themselves with all acuteness. These principles have combated the catholic values of sexual ethics and of the permanence of the family and have proposed that the love for one's neighbor should be replaced with the struggle against the class enemy. The 1956 abortion law, which was publicized as keeping abreast of time and progress, has opened the way to disregarding life altogether and to a dangerous tottering of the entire medical ethics.

That is why when giving thought to the resurrection of Jesus Christ we recall those events in the life of the church in which the "light and power" for moral rebirth are visible. Among these events we must include the 30th anniversary of the Poznan violent upheaval in June 1956 followed by the October events and by the release of Cardinal Wyszynski from imprisonment. These events are now history, and we are able to and should speak of them calmly. This history provides lessons for us because it shows us the hard road to the process of purification and illustrates the moral strength that liberates us from evil. This is precisely the strength of resurrection, and it was Christ who has left this strength in the church for the benefit of the world.

I offer my heartfelt blessings to children, young people, families, the sick, the weary, the suffering, all the sisters and brothers in Christ, and the Poles living abroad.

Signed: Cardinal Jozef Glemp, the Primate of Poland.  
Warsaw, Easter 1986.

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CSO: 2600/409



POLITICS

POLAND

GLEMP HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE DURING PARIS VISIT

AU181251 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 15 Apr 86 pp 1, 5, 6

[Article by Jan Zdzarski: "The Primate of Poland in France"]

[Text] On Monday 14 April, the fourth day of his visit to Paris, Jozef Cardinal Glemp, Primate of Poland, gave a press conference at the seat of the Episcopate of France in Paris. It was attended by numerous French correspondents, as well as foreign correspondents accredited in Paris. They were welcomed by Father Stanislaw Jez, rector of the Polish Catholic Mission in Paris, who presented the detailed program of Cardinal Glemp's visit, due to end on 21 April. Next, the Primate of Poland spoke, sincerely thanking all those who had come to the meeting.

"I believe," he said, "that this is a form of dialogue that serves to broaden one's knowledge of our complex and pluralistic society. I would like to stress the church purpose of my visit. For the Church plays an enormous role in European society, and I would like to contribute to the welfare of all of society. A very important matter is to thank all Frenchmen, all Frenchmen of Polish descent, and all Poles living in France for their kindness and very great charitable aid to Poland."

The Primate of Poland spoke about the ancient ties joining the Polish and French people. At the end of his speech, he said:

"During the 1980-1 crisis, French charities were the first to rush medical and food aid to Poland. That is why during my French visit there may be no lack of recognition for the very many dedicated groups and individuals who managed to transfer gifts from France to Poland with great commitment and not a little trouble. We will also be very eager to see French people coming to Poland, and although we cannot guarantee them comfortable conditions for tourism, the hearts of the Poles are nevertheless always open."

Next he replied to questions. Here are some of the answers transcribed by our reporter from a tape recording.

"The level of aid has fallen considerably. But it is still continuing in lower quantities, and is received with great joy. This does not mean that Poland is in extreme poverty. Meat is still rationed, but it is already possible to

buy other commodities. Nevertheless, there are many people who are very poor, especially pensioners. Up to now, gifts for Poland have been distributed by parishes to all those in need, regardless of their religion and degree of religious belief. Today there is a special need for drugs and medical equipment for hospitals. To some extent these commodities are being supplied via the international 'Caritas.' I would like to point out that Poles realize that there is considerably more suffering and poverty in other countries than in Poland. Last year we held collections inside churches for Ethiopia. This brought a very large amount of money. Our government has permitted the charity committee to send over many metric tons of sugar and flour. However, Ethiopia has declined the buckwheat.

"Four years ago we proposed the setting up of an agricultural foundation, in concordance with the German episcopate, among others. The purpose of this foundation was not to supply Poland with ready-made products to eat, but to give Poles the type of aid necessary for them to produce their own food through their own work. This program was welcomed initially and very detailed plans were worked out by specialists. These plans were based on the first three variants of the pilot plan--in other words, introductory plan--and on the universal plan, which would have involved larger funds to boost private agriculture only.... Therefore one could have foreseen that the state authorities would not take kindly to support for only one part of agriculture. The plans to help agriculture were worked out by specialists in very great detail. The government's main objections concerned small sums of money which the West was officially intending to offer as aid. For one could have had the impression that the church and agricultural foundation were only going to support some rural areas, while others would remain neglected. Of course we objected to this accusation, because we wanted to include the whole of private agriculture in the foundation, expecting that there would be increased aid for the whole of agriculture after the introduction of the pilot plan. The talks are still not finished, but right now I fail to see any clear steps which could lead to the animation of the planned foundation.

"I know that the Carmel monastery in Oswiecim [Auschwitz] already exists. But I do not know of any good reasons to object to its existence. Today I am meeting with a Jewish group who are bound to explain the issue."

When asked what he thought about yesterday's visit to a synagogue by the Holy Father, John Paul II, the Primate replied: "The Holy Father is a man of dialogue. He seeks contacts with various denominations, and in the same way seeks them with Jewish believers. That is clear."

When asked about General W. Jaruzelski's visit to Italy, Jozef Cardinal Glemp replied: "I am unable to say anything on this subject. These are matters of diplomacy between the Polish and Italian states. But if General Jaruzelski came to Italy, he would surely meet the Holy Father because the rule is for state representatives to come to the Vatican.

"Antisemitism in Poland is a myth disseminated by Poland's enemies. We must remember that 6,230,000 Poles died in the last war. Thus, the fate of the Polish people was very close to that of the Jewish people, and from this point of view one cannot antagonize both peoples.

"Liberation theology is causing a very great amount of interest in many political circles. There are, of course, various liberation theologies. But we have in mind the extreme theology that refers to Marxism. A new document recently emerged in the Holy See which discusses these matters anew. I have not yet had the time to read it, but I believe that all Catholic theology is liberation theology.

"As far as theology in Poland is concerned, it also involves liberating man from sins and misfortune and from an evil way of life. It cannot be compared with the extreme theology that is supplied in central America. There, are enormous differences in wealth, and these form a basis for revolutionary theological attitudes. Because there are no great owners and no rich people in Poland, everyone is reduced to a certain average standard, therefore there is no reason for theology based on social attitudes.

"As far as the prospects for a visit to Poland by the Holy Father next year are concerned, I believe that the visit itself is not being questioned. The Holy Father will be able to come to Poland. As far as the details are concerned, talks will be necessary between the episcopate and the government and between the government and the Apostolic See. The Holy Father's proposed visit to Poland is meant to coincide with the Eucharistic Congress, which is a purely religious-pastoral event. We are paying a lot of attention to the preparations for this congress. It is known that the ethics of social life have sunk considerably since the crisis, and that is why the preparations will concentrate on raising society's standard of moral life, especially that of believers.

"I believe that the collection for the Carmel monastery in Oswiecim was completely unnecessary. No one has suggested yet whether some ecumenical religious facility would be more suitable. I do not believe it is impossible for other denominations to atone for the atrocities that were committed there."

After the press conference the Primate of Poland visited Francois Mitterand, the French president. After the meeting the office of the head of state issued a communique saying that F. Mitterand recalled the traditional bonds of friendship joining the French and Polish peoples.

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CSO: 2600/409

POLITICS

POLAND

'CARITAS' HEAD EXPLAINS ACTIVITIES OF ASSOCIATION

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Apr 86 pp 1,2

[Interview with Father Henryk Kurzepa, chairman of the Caritas Catholic Association by Elbieta Pawelek "To Cooperate With That Which Is Good"]

[Text] [Question] What is Caritas and what are its goals?

[Answer] This is an organizational of lay Catholics as well as the clergy and was established on the basis of an agreement between the government and the Episcopate in 1950. Its members are citizens as well as believers. Therefore, they have certain rights and duties with respect to the state and church. The faith in the church cannot harm the state and by the same token, the performance of one's civil duties does not run counter to the evangelical mission of the church. I would like to emphasize that the goal of the association is not so much to organize religious persons as much as to win them over to work in social welfare and education and to participation in civic activity. The association wishes to make it easier for such persons to become involved in this manner. Therefore, the membership of chaplains to this organization can in no way reduce their loyalty to the church authorities. The wish of our members and especially those in the clergy is that their adherence to the church hierarchy not exclude them from choosing their own forms of social involvement.

[Question] What sort of involvement do you mean?

It is my deepest conviction that a Catholic priest should not limit his involvement to religious service alone. Actually, many priests have an obvious predisposition to social work because of the very nature of their calling which is to carry out pastoral work that gives them a full understanding of local problems. Often, their pastoral work also gives them the ability to effectively act on a number of different problems. I can give numerous examples in which priests have initiated the construction of roads, health-care centers and blood banks. After all, such work is a part of the precept of Christian ethics that it is necessary to cooperate with what is good, regardless of any philosophical differences.

[Question] Is it for that reason that Caritas so often invokes to the ideal of love of one's neighbor?

[Answer] It not only invokes that ideal but it tries to do its work in accordance with the social teachings of the church. Over the nearly 36 years that Caritas has existed, the object of its work has always been the person in need of help and the thrust of that work has always been God's command to love your neighbor. We have had rich examples of pastoral work and Christ's epistle from the house of Simon in which He said: "You will always take the poor unto yourselves".

[Question] The poor and the seriously-ill in need of care and help. How many of these have found places in Caritas houses? What is the scope of this activity?

[Answer] Caritas operates 200 of the 500 welfare homes that exist in Poland. About 15,000 handicapped, elderly, lonely people, orphans and children are living and being cared for in these homes. Out of the 200 welfare homes, 57 of them are special homes for children and 12 are therapeutic and educational homes. As the only organization to do so in Poland, we operate an Antimycotic Sanatorium at Tuliglowy in Chelm Province and an establishment at Wierzbice near Wroclaw for spastic children of normal intelligence suffering from muscle atrophy, cleft spines and congenital bone fragility. We also manage 55 educational establishments, children's homes, preschools and one boarding school for children that are disadvantaged to various degrees. We prepare these children for self-reliant lives, teach them various trades such as tailoring, sewing and carpentry. Our 6 public kitchens help young students and the lonely and we provide more than 2000 meals each day. Many of our centers have their own farms and this has enabled us to avoid food shortages.

[Question] How do the Caritas centers differ from others?

[Answer] They differ very greatly in that the nuns and friars regard this work as their calling. They are available for 24 hours a day and this is something hard to expect from lay persons. Out of 7000 full-time positions in our homes, we employ about 2500 nuns and friars from 49 different orders. It is their selfless work that always gives our centers the highest evaluations. Where we suffer is that our nuns and friars are aging and we find it hard to replace them with younger ones.

Our welfare and education work is carried out in accordance with the planned service coordinated in the provincial governments and approved by the ministries of health and education. A serious problem in this regard is the very poor state of our centers, many of which were built 100 or more years ago for other purposes. Therefore, the work we have done to adapt or reconstruct them cannot always meet our current needs. For that reason, we have had to close some of the centers. We have partly made up for the closed centers with new establishments in Zebrzydowice and Studiennicza kolo Augustowo as well as the Day Care Home in Chelm. We are also planning to open this year an educational center in Uszyce in Czestochowa Province and a DPS [expansion unknown] for adults in Kostomloty in Biala Podlaska Province and we are also taking over the Small Children's Home in Chelm, where we will create a therapeutic and educational center.

[Question] Are the people that live in these centers always the ones that really need them? Are there sometimes cases in which the families of seriously-ill or handicapped persons try to foist their responsibilities off on others?

[Answer] We try to work with families to reduce the number of our center residents as well as the number of elderly confined to hospitals. We also try to see that once they return to their families, they will feel much better than they did with us. We try at least to do all we can to provide an alternate home and family to those that need them. Often, the families that send someone to us forget that their continuing contact has a great part to play in the healing process. For that reason, we want to become involved in social policy to aid the families of handicapped persons and direct such policy toward keeping these people with their families. One solution here would be the creation of new and better-organized day-care homes. Such homes are not only less costly to the public but are also better for the ill and the healthy because they combat our indifference to evil and our egotism. Pope John Paul II has often pointed out that "...suffering exists in the world to cause love and acts of love toward one's neighbor and that all human civilization become a civilization of love".

[Question] Charity work is the mainstream of Caritas activity. There is still another less well-known activity.

[Answer] We pay special attention to deepening the dialogue between the church and state and above all to the responsibility shared by the faithful for the solving of all social and national problems. In reacting every day to human needs, we want to counteract various shortcomings in our social life. The crisis has very keenly uncovered the danger posed by these shortcomings. We are threatened by alcoholism and parasitism leading to crime, lack of respect for public property and the law, insensitivity and increasing drug abuse. It has also been stressed in the churches pastoral program for the next few years that "morality is the weakest element in the religion of contemporary Poles". We must all work to overcome moral infirmity because all of us bear that responsibility.

[Question] The 7th Caritas Electoral Congress will be held on 16 April. What are the association's future plans?

[Answer] On the basis of the powers given us by the law on charitable associations, we wish to begin supplementing our present welfare and charity work with economic activities. We are considering the production of much-needed rehabilitation equipment, particularly for our centers. This equipment is needed not only by the handicapped but also by the residents of our homes and the lack of it dooms them to social isolation. We therefore hope to

better meet the needs of the handicapped and to acquire the resources we need to expand the activities of our association.

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CSO: 2600/376

POLITICS

POLAND

MORAWSKI VIEWS CHURCH-STATE TIES, DEFENDS 'SECULAR SCHOOL'

AU212100 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19-20 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Zdislaw Morawski: "A Sober Look at the Secular School"]

[Excerpts] It is no exaggeration to say that education is a subject that interests our entire society, which knows perfectly well what goes on in schools, what is being taught and how it is being taught. Real problems in education are cadre shortages, difficulties concerning premises, or overloaded or badly planned programs. We write a great deal about this subject in ZYCIE WARSZAWY, often critically and in detail.

However, we have lately been learning about unknown threats to the education system not from schools themselves or from journalists' observations. We are learning about these dangers from statements and assertions--which have probably not accumulated fortuitously over time--coming from certain Catholic circles. Judging by these statements, which are reflected in certain sermons and in the Catholic press, a campaign has begun or is being continued which aims at "the atheization of schools" or, to repeat an ugly neologism which was not coined by us, "the Marxization" of schools.

Too many declarations of this tenor have been made to enable one to pass over the subject in silence.

Why then have suggestions and statements suddenly emerged that are directed against the principles on which schools operate: principles which have been universally recognized for the past 10 years and whose moral and social justification is based not only on the nature of our system but also on the principle that education should not be appropriate to just one world outlook?

I often encounter the view, which is quite widespread in lay circles--that we are dealing with something of a substitute attack. Charges which undermine the status of the secular school have little to do with ideological matters or attitudes toward religion; a political game is being played in the guise of religion. It is believed that a religious "scenario" will evoke a broader response in our society, which is almost completely united in its condemnation of all manner of intolerance and is attached to its traditions, a historical tradition which is above all Catholic as well as being Polish. When one listens to certain sermons and statements one cannot dismiss such suspicions.



However, one can view the problem in other terms. If the principles governing schools are being undermined then is there not a need for something fundamental to be changed in the school system? Is there a desire to make religion a non-compulsory subject in the secular state school once again and by doing so submit programs and teachers of religion to state inspection? I do not think so. I know that the authorities have no such intentions, just as there are no grounds for undermining the existing school system which is, above all else, also the fruit of experience in the field of church-state relations.

Intolerance in whatever form does not lie in the interests of our society and Poland. We are living in difficult times, we have been through many hard tests in recent years. Church-state relations withstood these difficulties well. And even during the hardest days there were no limitations on dialogue on all matters of importance for Poles: the unchanging and enduring religious policy conducted by the state in dialogue proved itself and, when and where appropriate, in cooperation with the church.

This is a current which requires understanding and support on both sides and a calm distancing vis-a-vis incidental questions. That one has to distinguish the Biblical wheat from the chaff is a moral imperative that was not formulated yesterday but it is one that continues to be pertinent.

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CSO: 2600/409

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

CONTROVERSIAL HISTORICAL WORK REVIEWED

Belgrade VOJNO DELO in Serbo-Croatian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 pp 109-129

[Review by Col Gen Nikola Pejnovic, retired, of book "Saveznici i jugoslovenska ratna drama" [The Allies and the Drama of Wartime Yugoslavia] by Veselin Djuretic, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti i Balkanoloski institut, Special Editions Book 23, Belgrade, 1985: "Historical Topics and 'Dilemmas'"]

[Text] The study "Saveznici i jugoslovenska ratna drama" by Dr Veselin Djuretic begins with its very title to create double ambiguities. The National Liberation Struggle and socialist revolution in Yugoslavia cannot be accommodated under the term "drama" because although they were carried out under extremely difficult historical conditions, they were carried out with great freedom-loving and revolutionary enthusiasm and culminated in the most brilliant victories, the greatest in the history of each of our nationalities and of Yugoslavia as a distinguished participant in the fight against fascism during World War II. The study's table of contents shows that the lexical definition of "drama" pertains first of all and mostly to the downfall of the Chetnik cause as a retrograde and counterrevolutionary force on Yugoslav soil, which in his very large work the author persistently and unremittingly treats as a second antifascist movement in our country, above all in Serbia. The true dramas such as the collapse in April 1941, the Ustasha genocide of Serbs, the German massacres in the cities of Serbia, and the persecution of the Slovenes took place before there existed the alliance referred to. It is understandable, then, that all those who do not accept the Chetnik cause with those attributes are also unable to accept their logically inglorious end as the social drama of Yugoslavia. If one wished to put that in figurative terms, then for most of the people of Yugoslavia the term "operetta" would have served better than "drama," especially for its armed forces and the term "drama" would apply only to the Chetnik ringleaders.

The emphasized association of the allies with that kind of drama intentionally or unintentionally creates the impression that their role in our internal events has been overestimated. The contents of the book will also show that the author has portrayed and evaluated in a distorted mirror the role of the allies concerning the developments and results of internal events and that he has attributed to them the role of principals and decisive arbiters. This will be taken not only as an attempt at moral and political rehabilitation of the Chetniks, but also at proving that they were not conquered by their

internal opponents, the members of the National Liberation Movement, but were supposedly the victim of an international plot. By all appearances one's first impressions about the title being overloaded will prove to be accurate.

The results of the research are encompassed in the two-volume study, whose contents pertain equally to events within the country and those on the international scene, and the method of descriptive survey and analysis is applied throughout. The dynamic chronological orientation in the exposition of the course of history is mostly related from the problem standpoint to relations between the two "antifascist centers," as the author treats them, that is, to the relation between the Chetniks and the National Liberation Movement. In eight long chapters the author presents in detail, and with respect to many parameters at great length, the causes and course of the internal divisions, the compromises achieved, and finally the dramatic denouement--as an epilogue which is decisively related to the role of the allies, whereby the fighting and overall efforts of the National Liberation Movement are diminished in relative terms and in part devalued. It is evident from the outline of the study and from the titles of its chapters, but still more from the text itself, that the author has devoted overemphatic attention to external propaganda, portraying it as a factor decisive to the behavior of the allies, at the expense of estimation of internal efforts. The propaganda of the National Liberation Movement is frequently portrayed as inauthentic, seductive, and false, as a kind of paradox, while the propaganda of the opposing side (the Chetniks, the quislings, the London government, and a portion of the Great Serb emigre community) is not portrayed at all, much less analyzed and evaluated.

The study is unusual from the standpoint of language and style. Terminological and conceptual values are used in such a way that some kind of prior clarification is needed, since because of his pragmatic needs and intentional motives, he has strictly separated the definitions: "ethnic" from "revolutionary," "revolutionary" from "political," "ideological" from "ethnic," "political" and "communist" from "ethnic" and "political," and so on, all of this on behalf of "clearer" separation and interpretation of the internal divisions referred to (in our country the attribute "revolutionary" is related even to the creation of new nationalities, while the "ethnic" attribute is associated with the formation of the communist parties). The style is attractive, but fatiguing, as concrete as it is abstractly enshrouded in mist, and often ambiguous. The author has mostly portrayed the complicated nature of the situation in our theater, both on the internal and the external scene, with great intellectual force and exceptional analytical ability, with a refined feeling for all the political and diplomatic maneuvers, but also with a large dose of subjectivism and bias. It is a pity that methodological orientation, global commitments, and value judgments and assessments were not always in keeping with the capability for transposition. It turns out that goodwill and visual acuity are not in themselves adequate for the researching and writing of history, nor indeed is it sufficient even to have a passion for tracking things down, but what is mostly required is a clear and firm political, ideological, and moral commitment whereby it is possible to display one's authentic integrity as a scholar. It should also be said that stunted humanists may be even the best physicists, but never historians. Perhaps some of these chords will sound premature, but they were arrived at on the basis of what has already

been said in public about the author and his work, and they were also meant to clarify certain of the categories related to the title and the work's external structure.

Nothing further can be said by way of introduction to the author and his work without getting into the contents and without its appropriate analysis. Only a detailed and extensive analysis of the study and its objective critical evaluation can fully show what its scientific and social deficiencies are and what the author's contribution to research has been. We will dwell on several of the largest problems that are most virulent from the social standpoint, those which have a provocative impact and represent the backbone of all the other assessments and views derived from them. They contain a flagrant revision of the historical and political facts and judgments well known up to now, and as such they impinge upon the broadest needs of society. Among them are the arguments about the allegedly historically and socially displaced nature of the term "Great Serb hegemony" as a term and as a factor in historical scholarship; about the Chetniks as an "antifascist movement" during World War II, above all in Serbia, to which the author has also added as a force of the same kind the quisling services and forces of Ljotic and Nedic, and his evaluation of the role of the allied factor in the course of events and their outcome in Yugoslavia.

#### 1. On "Great Serb Hegemony"

We will quote two passages from his study in order to illustrate Djuretic's view on this issue:

"A coincidence of unusual circumstances caused the great misunderstanding of the allied world and wartime Yugoslavia. In the first days of the drama it was concealed by a state of confusion--in the face of facts which showed behavior contrary to every political forecast. The people that had been the 'oppressor' of other peoples and had been a vehicle of 'profascist' policy was the principal victim of the fascist aggressors and of a minority of 'oppressed' antifascist allies."<sup>1</sup>

"Both people and spirits, will-o'-the-wisps of historical and social consciousness, legends and myths fought with one another in the whirlwind of the war on Yugoslav soil. Two conceptual myths had the greatest historical 'impact'--the myth of 'Great Serb hegemony and oppression' and the myth of the 'Croat Partisans.'"<sup>2</sup>

Both the passages quoted say more about the author than about the subject itself. Aside from the maliciousness as to the other "antifascist allies," the author's phrasings are imprecise from the Marxist and sociological standpoint, since he attributes Great Serb hegemonism not to a particular social group, but to the entire Serbian people, which, this much is true, was the first to feel the oppression and enslavement. However, in defining the term "hegemonism" one must make a strict distinction between the people and the managing and ruling grouping which was not behaving in the interest of the people or as its social expression, but according to the laws of the classical narrow interests and appetites of social climbers. The author has based his thesis

that there was no Great Serb hegemony exclusively on the fact that Serbia was at a lower level of economic development and that between the two wars more was invested in Croatia and Slovenia than in Serbia. There would be nothing to say in objection to that argument if abundant historical experience did not prove that class groupings in society exercise or attempt to exercise their internal or external hegemony by a broad range of measures and actions which are not always and everywhere economic or are not always and everywhere primarily economic.

The sets of instruments of military power, geostrategic position, ideological superiority, superiority in civilization, scientific achievements, and a host of other relevant criteria come together in the most highly diverse combinations in attainment of the goals of hegemony. That thesis was necessary to the author not because of its scientific soundness and historical authenticity, but because it completes the line of argument and rounds out the picture of the position of the Serbs during World War II, who, innocent and without provocation as an entire nationality, were threatened by a peril to their very existence and by biological destruction. The horrors which the Serbian people experienced are indisputable, but we cannot be satisfied merely with the emotions evoked by its fate in the recent past. That is, we must call upon scholarship for all the clarifications which can even to the slightest degree contribute to historical knowledge of that cataclysm. Along the way we will gain nothing from deleting or modifying and portraying in a favorable light the role of the Great Serb dynastic-radical-Pasicist and military-bureaucratic camarilla, whose motives the author reduces to achieving a well-meaning progressive and disinterested "homogenization" of Yugoslavia.

It is not possible, nor indeed necessary, to elaborate more broadly in this context the principles and practice of the ruling structures of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, but it is worthwhile to recollect some of them so that the debate is not left without any arguments whatsoever. It was not possible to achieve "homogenization" of the ethnic mosaic of Yugoslavia by the methods of dictate, assimilation, and a government structure which was more associated with the concept of "Great Serbia" than with a community of several ethnic individualities. It was natural to anticipate and experience diverse cases of resistance to that kind of policy and the emergence of political movements whose goals were national freedom and equality, but also intensified military-police repression on the part of the regime as a countermeasure to such processes. The methods and goals of social and political disenfranchisement of the working class by prohibiting it from organizing politically and through trade unions, coincided completely with the policy of interethnic relations and was fully integrated with it. Anticommunism on the external and internal fronts brought it about that the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was the last European country to recognize the USSR as an entity of the international community by establishing diplomatic relations with it, which it did just before the war began. The anticommunist hysteria, with an especially favorable attitude toward the White Guard emigre community from tsarist Russia, combined with nebulous dreams of inheriting the tsarist throne of the Romanovs, had a direct relation to the behavior and relations of the Chetnik-monarchist forces even during the war. Incidentally, during the entire existence of the old state the Great Serb elite held the diplomatic service and the country's international relations

almost exclusively in its own hands. Almost to the same degree on the internal side it had sovereign power over the military, police, and administrative apparatus, which it had formed and which it directed on the principles of devotion to the king and to the monarchy. The prime ministers and ministers of the armed forces and foreign affairs were always Serbs from Serbia (with the episodic exception of Korosec), which is an illustration in the small of relations as a whole. When we add to this the credit it had earned as victor and "liberator," along with the claims to various social privileges, and above all the claim to wield power in the areas "annexed," the hegemony was manifested at the lowest level after the pattern of acquired rights to primacy in the life of society. Tendencies toward linguistic supremacy were even displayed. Aside from that, the demographic placement of the Serbian population throughout almost the entire breadth of Yugoslav space was objectively favorable to the practice and expression of hegemonistic goals in the situation where the ruling circles resorted to the concept of ethnic majorization.

"The unresolved nationality question especially deepened the internal political instability. In the newly created state with a multinational composition political hegemony of the Serbian bourgeoisie, which relied on the forces of the victors in the war and itself possessed a military force, was established. The hegemonistic policy aroused fierce resistance from the bourgeois national movements, especially the Croats and Slovenes, who strove for a division of the political power and protection of their own economic interests. That is why interethnic political struggles flared up from the very beginning in the newly created state."<sup>3</sup>

All of this (and one might cite many similar examples) imparted a visible imprint on the former government system and had an impact on conditions and on the situation both in the April war and also during the National Liberation Struggle, so that the science of history should accordingly establish the measures and manners of their manifestation, rather than taking refuge by denying something which objectively existed in society. This does not, of course, mean justifying those sinister forces which were working to break up and partition Yugoslavia in the name of Hitler's New Order, a Hapsburg Catholic federation, or dogmatically limited slogans of the Comintern. Especially does this not mitigate the monstrous Ustasha genocidal atrocity, which is rare in the entire history of the human race among peoples of the same or similar origin and character.

Accordingly, no metaphysical forces embodied in spirits, myths, and legends, as the author refers to them, were fighting in Yugoslavia at all, but rather real social forces that had arisen out of the real relations of the former society, and not only from its Serbian segment, but out of its entire existence. Nor is it a contribution to the truth of history, and no service is done to the Serbian people by denying anything which historically existed and which has long been generally recognized, instead of clarifying a particular social phenomenon like hegemony in historical terms by exposing its causes and consequences using Marx's analytical method. Nor is it any accident that Dimitrije Tucovic has recently come under attack by neonationalist and ideological critics.

## 2. On Chetnik "Antifascism"

In order to illustrate the author's views we will again make use of passages from the book.

"Chetnik antifascism, in its adaptation to the given situation of the occupation, permitted various forms of behavior--from combative (sporadic and limited), and then self-defensive on a territorial basis, which signified control of more or less all the rural settlements, to collaborationist behavior on an anticommunist basis, which at times negated the very nature of the people's antioccupier commitment. Yet in both its ideology and politics it was directed against the enslavers, and it clearly emphasized this in all its propaganda of preparing its followers for the final showdown--'when the time comes.'"<sup>4</sup>

"Those reports which lowered the Chetnik organization to the true level of a quisling force came in from Partizan sources by means of the Comintern services. At times they were embroidered with exaggerations and one-sidedness. In September 1942 the most frequent were reports about agreements of the Chetniks with the Germans, from which the principal motive of temporary anticommunist compromises was omitted--protecting the Serbian people against reprisals."<sup>5</sup>

We note that the author does not tackle the job of moral and political justification of the Chetnik collaboration, since for him the anticommunist motive is sufficient to justify national treason. It was to turn out later that in that view he was considerably beneath the ethics of the British Conservatives. That is, the Chetnik declarative propaganda is not an "exaggeration," but this applies only to what came from "Partizan sources," which ultimately comes down to saying that the Partizans were to blame for the treasonous crime of the Chetnik bigwigs.

One gains the unambiguous impression on the basis of the entire study that its deepest purport is to prove the thesis of Chetnik antifascism in Serbia and Yugoslavia, i.e., the thesis of a second liberation movement in Yugoslavia, thereby to furnish it political and moral affirmation, with all the social repercussions which follow therefrom. What is more, the author extends the term Serbian antifascism to include not only the Chetniks of Draza Mihailovic, but all the other quislings and collaborationists as well such as Milan Acimovic, Dimitrije Ljotic, and Milan Nedic with their entourages, arguing the necessity and justifiability of their emergence and the role which they had during the occupation on existential grounds. That serves as the basis for creating a desperate terminological and political logic whereby it is possible at one and the same time to work with the fascists and to be an antifascist. Moreover, in a strangely biased way the author comes down hard on leftwing propaganda, which ends up with the greatest blame for the fact that the domestic and allied public were erroneously informed and led astray with respect to the ethnic and antifascist mission of those vassals of the occupier. In order to clarify his point of view and make it convincing the author has along the way come out against the changes associated with 27 March 1941, which does everything to round out his conception.



The author expresses and formulates the line of demarcation between the national liberation movement led by the CPY and the so-called Chetnik movement by equations of a sort, in which the Chetnik term reads ethnic political realism of the noncombative type; while the term of the National Liberation Struggle is international revolutionary realism of the recklessly combative and armed type. Even this initial classification of the character and goals of the two sides contains essential scientific and practical political distortions. They lie in the fact that the national liberation movement is altogether deprived of its ethnic attribute, while the counterrevolutionary attribute of the Chetnik movement is covered up and then in the later treatment turns out to be a matter of tactical maneuver and is justified as such. It is correct and understandable for the author to try to elucidate and clarify the extremely difficult and cruel conditions under which the Serbian people found itself in Serbia and outside it during the 1st year of the wartime events and that he should accordingly try, and here he was partially successful, to calmly separate the propaganda "overlays" from the facts and the real events, but it is not clear why he does not do this in a consistent, scrupulous, and impartial manner. The author binds the quantity "combative" in the equation referred to exclusively to the national liberation movement, while he attributes to the Chetniks passivity and a peacemaking role with dubious commando activity, but allegedly only against the occupier, leaving unexplained their extreme and fanatical militance against the armed forces of the National Liberation War and of the people whose orientation was antifascist. It is no accident that the author fails to mention the initiative of the Chetniks in connection with the attack on the Partisans in Serbia in 1941. Similarly, with the greatest understanding, he treats the Chetnik-occupier collaboration as a patriotic and morally permissible mode of behavior, indeed even as a strategic orientation to be recommended. "Tito made the greatest use of the symbols of coalition in order to discredit the Chetniks. Mystifying his own ideological goals, through his concrete combat activity he created a propaganda screen, so that before the eyes of the world his adversary would begin to plunge into the abyss between his own national political motives imposed by the circumstances and the communist and international political reasoning."<sup>6</sup> Does this not resemble, indeed even in its terminology, pro-Chetnik lecturing and anticommunist rabble-rousing?

Nor does the author come up to the level of scientific objectivity even when he is explaining the reprisals against the people in Serbia as the primary and indeed even sole motive of the Chetnik commitment and behavior during the entire war. The fact of the matter is that the "Serbian antifascists," all the way from Dimitrije Ljotic to Draza Mihailovic, constituted the main segment of the system and undertook the reprisals and were the most active participants in all the persecutions of the Serbian patriots and the Serbian people as a whole. The well-known bloody mass inquisitions, the places where executions were carried out in the camps, the police raids, and the bestial Chetnik slaughters were not merely the business of the German conqueror and his military and police forces, but they were a joint act by the concerted external and internal fascist-collaborationist factors which were entirely on a par in performance of that function.<sup>7</sup>

The occupier's domestic collaborators claimed more Serbian victors than the German conquerors. While one reflects on that historical event, it is impossible not to turn to the present and not to relate our current defensive orientation to the past. That is, in our constitution and other legal documents we have proclaimed the principle that no one has the right to sign or to recognize capitulation and occupation, that all citizens are required to continue armed combat and all other struggle in the rear of the aggressor's front under all conditions, that every act of cooperation with the occupier is regarded as the most serious act of treason and is to be punished most severely. Is this revolutionary dogmatic-sectarian fanaticism, which is the only way it could be described using Djuretic's standards of history, or is this a real national revolutionary orientation in the worldwide constellations of the present and future? We do not consider this a counterargument to the author's rationale about the situation in Serbia, since it is a question of very different times and social conditions, but we refer to it as an example that there are various ways of seeking a way out of difficult crisis situations of the past and future. For example, one might state the hypothesis, more theoretical than practical, that the situation in Serbia would have been altogether different if the Chetniks had not turned toward fanatic anticommunist activity, not only in order to prevent reprisals, but because of their own dominant motive, and if they had not extended their network and oppression to terrorize all Serbian villages and cities--the liberation movement would have found the capability of constantly and gradually mobilizing an ever larger number of fighters in Serbia and of welding them into units in other regions to the point of the downfall of the German conquerors. This thesis is supported by the fact that the Chetniks, in Croatia, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in Montenegro sought and accepted still more open collaboration with the occupier, who was not applying repressive measures against the population like those of the Germans in Serbia, and where the primary rule in order to rescue the Serbian people was to wage the strongest possible armed combat against the monstrous acts of violence of the Ustashi. What is more, the Chetniks began and practiced to the end a collaboration with the Ustashi, and not merely with the Italians, the Germans, and other occupiers.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, the argument, perhaps in itself sufficient, should be stated to the effect that anyone who collaborated with the occupier and during the entire war joined the occupier and other quislings in conducting fierce and open combat against the forces of the national liberation movement, regardless of motives and ultimate intentions, cannot be described as an antifascist force nor as a second antifascist center in Yugoslavia.

An equally bizarre debate was conducted at one time about whether the Home Guards (domobranci) were a "reserve of the revolution" or an integral part of the occupier-quisling system, and the author of that thesis proved his motives by his own example in the denouement. That is, it is an old and proven scientific motto that it is not possible to judge someone from what they think and say about themselves, nor on the basis of what they intend, but exclusively according to where they objectively are in a particular situation and what they do. It is a historic truth, no dilemma should be opened up on this point without ulterior motive, that the Chetniks, after involuntary initial steps which were not overly patriotic, carried out attacks everywhere against the

Partizan forces 2 months after the uprising and began to withdraw and turn towards the occupier all the way to the point of complete identification with him, and during the entire war the Chetnik leadership displayed savage anti-communism and enmity toward everything liberative and in the tradition of democratic liberty.<sup>9</sup> Instead of seeking an appropriate definition for the treasonous, collaborationist, chauvinist, and anticommunist activity of the Chetnik cause and its place on the scale of Yugoslav and European fascist and pro-fascist activity, the author strains to defend its dirty and bloody banners. After all, while he is researching and explaining the causes and modes of the origin and development of this phenomenon, scholarship is traveling on its own track. As soon as he switches to defending them and pleading for them, accompanied by false value judgments, there is an inevitable "backsliding" of scholarship, and since we are not dealing with scholarship alone, nor can the subject matter of the debate be allowed to remain solely within its precincts, the broader social consequences are obvious and inevitable.

### 3. The Allies and Propaganda

Djuretic has interpreted in great detail and at some considerable length the archive sources for writing a historical treatment of his topic. In so doing his criterion has been that of historichronology, he does not attempt to sub-categorize the problems, and he does not endeavor to provide sizable cross sections of lengthy periods of time in order to create a clearer and less elongated picture. Every reader, especially the reader whose approach is that of scientific history, will get the impression that the author is recounting and commenting upon diplomatic correspondence and the daily press from day to day, which inevitably gives the impression of repetition and of going around in circles without a corresponding value of the knowledge gained. Even because of this kind of style and method it is probably no accident, nor is it unrelated to the projected results which were supposed to be achieved by presentation of the abundant historical material. The problem here does not lie only in broad or condensed presentation, but in the deeper sense and function of what is being made known in this way. Apparently the objective position of equal distance from both opposed "antifascist" movements in Yugoslavia makes it possible for the author to make the descriptions of external and propaganda events more important than what happened on the battlefield and in the political arena within the country. It is clear that this is a position of false scholarly objectivity, since history is not to be found solely in archive "scraps" and little pieces of paper, nor is it the historian's role to merely act the role of stage director in their presentation.

Evaluation of the goals of the participants in the conflict, of their social character, as well as of the strategies of the two sides whereby they wish to realize their goals constitute the backbone and only correct methodological support in this kind of undertaking in the writing of history. This is in fact one of the main keys which the author has intentionally or unintentionally neglected in "unlocking the main lock" on the "door" of his subject matter. However unlikely and indeed even horrifying it might seem, the fact is that even now the author did not want or was not able to grasp the character and goals of the national liberation war and socialist revolution in Yugoslavia. This constitutes the major portion of the explanation of what our

scholarly and other public has been criticizing in terms of the author's mistakes or intentional distortions. The essence lies in the narrowed nationalistic vision and narrow sectarian-dogmatic interpretations. At the center of Djuretic's exploration are the threatened Serb population and the alien international communist inroads at the blind service of a foreign power.... This may seem to be oversimplified and undiscerning, but it would be hard to avoid less drastic observations as a means of cutting through the quasi-scholarly wrappings. This assertion would be unfair and inaccurate if the author had left these points of view to the Chetniks, but when he identifies himself with them and becomes their fan and advocate, then that is not the scholar's position of objectivity.

Djuretic does not recognize at all the national liberation component of the national liberation movement, but considers everything pertaining to it as Phariseism, trickery, deception, and immorality. Without a profound and essential understanding of the historical and social facts that revolutionary transformation could not have taken place in Yugoslavia without a consistent and broadly based national liberation struggle, one must run headlong into a wall not only in politics, but also in scholarship. That same maxim also applies the other way around--that it would not have been possible either to begin or complete any sort of national liberation struggle without the declared goal of no return to the way things were. Djuretic has left the nationality policy and the struggle for national liberation to the Chetniks, as is evident from his formulas, and he has attributed to the National Liberation War, in accordance with his lifeless diagrams, only a communist revolution represented by the phrase "revolutionary internationalism." "And the name of a movement with the attributes 'national' and 'liberation' led the foreign observer to define its rivals as the opposite of those categories."<sup>10</sup> The author is very careful everywhere to see that the "rival" is not damaged, and he speaks like a censor in saying that the National Liberation Movement did not use the attributes "communist and revolutionary" in its propaganda. For him the propaganda of the national liberation movement was hypocritical and corrupt because it refused to accept the fact that our nationalities were waging a national liberation war, so that everything that is said in this connection seems to him like a trick.

It is strange that Djuretic's attention was not drawn to the broader world history being written, in which he would find that so far all socialist revolutions have been carried out within the framework of international wars and in the form of a national liberation struggle. The Paris Commune rose up not only against the French version of the Croat landed gentry belonging to Thiers, but above all the Prussian Junkers and Bismarck's conquerors. The October Revolution could not have been carried out in the absence of the struggle against the foreign interventionists and their internal followers as an extension of World War I. The Chinese socialist revolution also was resolving the problems of a national liberation war in its most decisive phase, and much the same is true of the others. In our case it was a question of waging a national liberation struggle within World War II, which was for all the countries and forces of the anti-Hitler coalition a just and liberative war, and this not only facilitated, but it in fact dictated inclusion of the liberative efforts in the general and worldwide progressive efforts. In addition, it is a fact that it

was a question of mortal danger to a great Slavic and at the same time socialist country, which reduced all selfish manipulations to the smallest possible measure. This remark has to do with the author's assertion that the CPY took an irresponsible and fanaticized attitude toward the situation and fate of the Serbian people and that it blindly strove only for revolution and the struggle for power. In this connection one should not deny all the sporadic wanderings and cases of extremes which cause the greatest damage to the national liberation movement, although the author observes that the Chetniks did not take sufficient advantage of them. There were dogmatic-sectarian manifestations, not only in connection with the well-known cases of extreme behavior, but they were gradually overcome, and the movement more and more took on a popular democratic breadth.

After this basic observation the author's assessments of the allies and of their role in the wartime events in Yugoslavia become understandable. First of all, their role is exaggerated beyond all measure, and together with "leftwing propaganda" it is portrayed as fateful and decisive as to the ultimate results: "Winston Churchill and Josef Visarionovic Stalin had the decisive influence in Yugoslav events."<sup>11</sup> Moreover, aside from the conceded emphasis of the strength and effects of leftwing propaganda centers, it is a question of reductionism with respect to the dynamic pace of events in our theater, which are placed in the shadow of the allied role and some kind of leveling with respect to the Chetniks, so that it turns out that the propaganda of the national liberation movement was unrealistic and pretentious to the point of bragging: "The national liberation movement burst onto the international scene and imposed itself on the allied powers thanks primarily to its successes and victories and because since as early as 1941 it had been offering decisive resistance to their efforts to subordinate the liberation struggle of the nationalities of Yugoslavia exclusively to their own military and political interests; thus the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia was recognized as an important military factor with which the allied powers established cooperation."<sup>12</sup>

The logical question arises as to why the author has omitted to say a single word about Chetnik and rightwing propaganda, which was dominant for a long time, and why he did not say that it was false and that it invented Chetnik victories or attributed Partizan victories to them?

"Thanks to the leftwing propaganda organs, the conflict on the general wartime scene was ideologically mystified and reduced pretty much to the basic and highly oversimplified wartime attributes: profascist and antifascist forces. This omitted that universal criterion of evaluation which derives appraisals from the sum total of relations--beginning with their ideas and going to their manifestations, from the basic coordinates of wartime relations--for or against the occupier."<sup>13</sup> (It bothers Djuretic that members of the National Liberation Movement did not wave their party cards and reveal their ideas, and also that no one knew who they were or what they were for, while along with that he sticks to the argument that the Chetniks did not want to collaborate with the occupiers either.)

While the Chetniks waited passively and statically, except when they were involved in fights with the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, the forces of the NOVJ found themselves in direct armed conflict with impressive forces of some six occupiers and just as many quislings, including also the Chetniks, which required an altogether different type of dynamic behavior and richer and more expressive portrayal of its physiognomy. After all, quantitative reductionism of this kind inevitably results in qualitative injury and real depreciation of the forces and efforts of the national liberation movement.

Adhering to his scheme concerning the character and goals of our national liberation movement and also concerning its political and military strategy, the allied role and importance are portrayed in an equally unrealistic way. British policy, led by Churchill as its principal protagonist, has been given extremely bad marks which are reduced to the common denominator of not having known what it was about. It is judged to have been immature and confused, afraid of the Soviets and burdened with its own old complexes about "Great Serb hegemony," uninformed and deceived by Partizan propaganda, so that it lost a sense of what kind of movement was involved and why the struggle was being waged. (At one point MacLean tells how he told Churchill that after the war Yugoslavia would be a "communist state," and received the reply: "That is their affair, we are not going to live there.")

All the lexical capabilities of language have been mobilized to prove the moral and political perfidy of the propaganda of the National Liberation Movement in deceiving the allies and the foreign public, including these: "seduction," "political trickery," "snared in a web," "leftwing game," "threat," "screen for leftwing policy," "the game being played by the Soviets and the National Liberation Movement," "the clever game of the communist forces," and so on. On all grounds British policy should have remained alongside the Chetniks, regardless of their behavior and role, and since that did not happen, Djuretic scornfully proclaims it to have been treasonous, immoral, and stupid, which is equal to the blackest sacrilege: "It also led American policy toward Yugoslavia down the wrong road, and the latter only expressed surprise from time to time about some of the British ideas and interpretations."<sup>14</sup> Then not only the propaganda of the national liberation movement, but also the British military intelligence correspondence came under attack. The author sees and perceives British policy as a whole in a way similar to that of the disappointed and angry Chetniks, and he is also biased in his observation of the national liberation struggle in Yugoslavia and the moves made by its leadership.

In order to prove that the Partizans "outwitted" the British and led them into deception, there is a reference in the book to the so-called parliamentary game which apparently the Western public liked and which consisted of electing and appointing people to head the antifascist councils and to their membership only for the purpose of political deception. The Liberation Front of Slovenia gets ironic treatment as a whole as an example of a successful front, and much the same is true of the Montenegrin assemblies at Ostrog and on Sutjeska. The names of noble men and great fighters and patriots are enumerated, men such as Ivan Ribar, Josip Vidmar, Vladimir Nazor, Svetozar Ritig, Marko Vujacic, Vlado Zecevic, Vojislav Kecmanovic, Savo Orovic, Josip Smolaka, Sreten Zujovic,



Mosa Pijade, and others, in which connection he cynically adds that we wrote about some of them and gave their titles: senator, priest, military officer, writers, and so on, but concealed the party membership of the communists. The names of great people, not only alive, but also dead, have always been used as moral and promotional symbols to serve social change. Their names were not used in order to deceive anyone, but rather it was a question of the positions they held in the organization of society, and their names and activity were used above all to meet the purposes of domestic mobilization and to win favor for the policy of liberation, and they were naturally justified even in the domain of international influences. It is blasphemy pure and simple to reduce that to a trick. After all, we must preserve and nurture the memory of those great figures much as has been done in history with Vuk Karadzic, the priest Matej Nenadovic, Dositej Obradovic, and many others.

Burdened by the obsession of the universal anti-Serbian conspiracy, which must rightly be honored for the situation in 1941, the author has conducted his research with great suspicion toward anyone who appeared on the historical horizon, including often the forces and factors of the national liberation war, which, unaccompanied by an appropriate line of argument, seems like a paradox and a kind of insinuation. It is dangerous before history to equate Tito's anti-Chetnik revolutionary orientation and his determination to break up the counterrevolutionary danger which they represented with his attitude toward the Serbian people and Serbian working class. The author also places in the same rank the "myth of the Croat Partizans," which is equated with the myth of Great Serb hegemony, and it lies in the fact that units of predominantly Serbian membership in Croatia unjustifiably bore the name "Croat." After all, the important thing for Tito and our struggle was for there to be as many Partizan units as possible, and it was not so important whether they would be called Serb or Croat. Incidentally, the term "Croat" is not merely an ethnic attribute, but also a geographic one (the author makes no objections to the names of the Bosnian units). It is historic truth that all the units in Croatia except the 1st Brigade (the Lika-Kordun-Banija Brigade) bore local and regional names such as Lika, Kordun, Dalmatian, Banija, Slavonia, coastal and mountain, and so on, and that they were a part of the National Liberation Army of Croatia and under the command of its general staff. The I Corps of the National Liberation Army of Croatia was referred to in its abbreviated version as the I Croatian Corps, which did not fully correspond to its ethnic composition. But regardless of the composition, it could not logically have been referred to as Serbian. Later on the corps were given Yugoslav numerical nomenclature in spite of the number of the regional designation as the VIII Dalmatian, the X Zagreb, the XII Vojvodina, the V Krajina, and so on, while only the Slovenian, Serbian, and Macedonian units were indicated not only by a number, but also by national designations. In his telegrams to the Comintern and to "Free Yugoslavia" Tito used various terms--both local and national--and he moreover often used the name "Croat" not in order to deceive anyone in the world, but because the listeners to the radio station "Free Yugoslavia" included Croat listeners, and it had an exceptionally motivational impact on them, especially on members of the Croatian Peasant Party. Referring in the propaganda to the units as being Croat units was aimed at combating the Ustashi and dispelling the myth about the so-called Independent State, since a high percentage of the Croat population had been taken in by that illusion.



Djuretic is especially bothered by the equalization, the term he used for concealment of Croat passivity and collaboration with the occupier at the expense of the involvement of Serbs in the fight throughout the country, but he does not see this as Tito's dissatisfaction with the state of affairs, and perhaps also unpleasant feeling before the Comintern, but conceives it as an anti-Serb tendency and concealment of the national shame and of those responsible for it in Croatia. That assessment can be arrived at by analyzing the telegrams to the Comintern in mid-1942, in which Tito was exceptionally gratified by the fact that larger numbers of Dalmatians were joining the Partizans.

For anyone who is not burdened by chauvinism and is not politically blind, it was altogether natural and necessary to keep all channels open for gradual attraction of the Croat masses over to the positions of the liberation movement and the socialist revolution. The anti-Serb tendency can be seen in this only by those who have been preparing a revanchist showdown because of the criminal Ustasha genocide, people who have suspected that the Ustashi might sooner or later be buried and lost under the name "Croat Partizans," thereby at the same time deceiving the allied public. Instead of clarifying the so-called myth about the Croat Partizans, the author attempts to create another myth--about the struggle of the Chetniks against the Germans in Serbia in 1943 and 1944.

The importance the researcher attributes to the criterion of selectivity of archive data and the principle that their treatment is not to serve as a source of underhanded plants and intrigues at the level of gossip is best seen from the fantastic half-concealed quotations and footnotes to the effect that strong Partizan forces were operating in the vicinity of the Jasenovac camp, but for mysterious reasons did not even attempt to liberate it, or another insinuation which is similar in its lack of scruples to the effect that the Anglo-American bombers were sent by order of the Partizan General Staff only to targets in Serbian cities, while others (the reference is to Croatian cities), again because of a similar mystery, went undamaged. On four occasions the author has given us a slap by mentioning the insignificant and obscure figure of Lieutenant Colonel Marko Mesic, who was captured as one of Pavelic's legionnaires in the USSR, and was later made commander of the Yugoslav Brigade created there (the Soviets acted similarly with certain other countries). The case is raised to the level of principle and is abused as an anti-Serb argument, and at the same time mention is made that the Chetniks in the Cacak area did not for that reason want to surrender to that brigade, although the Soviets so ordered. We cite these several examples among a multitude of others not only because the author passed them on, although here again there is a question mark, but more because he expressed no reservation whatsoever about their authenticity and maliciousness, which does not do credit to research of this kind.

Qualitative reductionism in relations between Moscow and the national liberation war of the peoples of Yugoslavia has been achieved at great harm to its political and military-strategic independence. Relations within the triangle of Moscow, London, and the national liberation movement have been utterly oversimplified and reduced to an intolerable measure of obedience on the one hand and tricks on the other.

"A set of numerous circumstances placed Tito in a situation where he was compelled still more to make choices among the versions imposed upon him or offered to him than to create the development of events on his own. The general conditions for this kind of choice were determined by the fact that the national liberation movement had become the backbone also of various allied interests toward Yugoslavia and the denominator of their common war policy. This made the choice of the Partizan commander-in-chief simpler, since as a disciplined communist he could only choose the version offered by the Comintern, that is, by the Soviet Government."<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps the author was able on the basis of various archive sources to arrive at that fundamentally mistaken evaluation, but historical reality, which is the best judge, utterly denies and corrects it. As a matter of fact it is important to an evaluation of Tito's activity to establish his great independent creative power and role, which is related to his strong political and military intuition and determination to stubbornly carry out his own conceptions. In this area we have been damaged by reductionism of the qualitative kind, and the reference is to the period when Tito had not only declared himself to be against fascism and Hitlerism, but was in fact participating with his forces in defense of the country, even at the time when Stalin was in a cordial Entente with Hitler, and the Comintern was actually revising its earlier policy. It is evident from that, by means of the documents of the fifth national conference and May Party Conference, that the CPY did not commence the struggle only after Germany's attack on the USSR, but considerably earlier. However, still more significant to the evaluation of Tito's major role in the national liberation war is the fact that with his collaborators he independently defined the character, goals, political, and military strategy of the national liberation movement and all the modes of subsequent organization and realization of the initial concept. The organic unity of the national liberation struggle and the revolution was not defined and demanded by the Comintern, but was indigenous and an original notion of the CPY and of Josip Broz Tito. It was important to Moscow that armed combat and commando operations against the occupier's military force begin as soon as possible in order to relieve as much as possible the critical position on the Soviet front. They permitted and suggested revolution only after the war, after the victory over fascism had been won, which is the old classical and rigidly schematic concept of revolution, one which according to the well-known conceptions absolutely had to take place by stages in time. The strategy of mass popular uprisings through the form of Partizan warfare (along with other forms of action) was accommodated to the political goals and immediate armed obligations on the domestic and broader international scenes. The strategic center of gravity was carried from the cities to the broad areas outside the cities, and the peasants became involved in the movement as the principal military and social force, while the Comintern expected commando operations and street fighting in the cities, and later general strikes and barricades.<sup>16</sup> The organization and development of the military force of the national liberation movement were just as much Tito's original creation as the ways in which it was used in strategy and tactics. Much the same is true of the organization of popular government in the form of national liberation committees and antifascist councils, which Moscow became involved with only in order to bring relations with the British allies and Yugoslav Government into conformity with relations of a wartime coalition. No

one outside could assume the right of arbiter in testifying about the constitutional and statist problems of the future system of government, including the country's federal structure and nationality question. The federal concept of Yugoslavia does not fit with Djuretic's thesis about the official establishment of the Serbs, but that is not a problem of our independence in the national liberation war, still less is it an anti-Serb tendency, but above all an objective social and historical category. Much the same is true of all the other basic solutions which had to do with the way the struggle was waged and its results. As for relations in the triangle, at first there was excessively great suspicion, uncertainty, and a lack of independence with respect to Great Britain, and in part also toward the United States, but gradually self-confidence and independence was acquired, many suggestions and positions of the principal patron were not accepted, just as was the case with points of view concerning the Chetniks, the king, the London government, and later an ever greater number of issues. By contrast with the author's assessment, one might posit somewhat more freely and demonstratively the thesis that Moscow, including both centers--the Comintern and Stalin, was more listening and keeping abreast of what Tito was doing and what he was intending than it was determining the conceptual goals and methods of the liberation war in Yugoslavia. They helped us more in their propaganda than with their ideas and their material. Only later came the steps to "put us in the cage," which they still did not manage to do, precisely because of our independent and relatively self-sufficient role in the war.

Djuretic felt that he should also strengthen his previous assessment with the following observation: "On several occasions Tito emphasized his luck during the war, making less mention of the sets of objective circumstances which brought about many conditions favorable for the national liberation movement, especially circumstances of a national and international character which had an influence by virtue of the interdependence of the general and particular factors, making for a kind of fertile soil for affirmation of revolutionary action."<sup>17</sup>

Djuretic refers to five factors among those "favorable conditions":

- i. Hitler's attitude toward the Serbs (the author refuses to honor the fact that that attitude also burdened Tito with the Chetnik counterrevolution and treason);
- ii. the Ustasha slaughter of the Serbs (it would be correct to emphasize that it was not just the slaughters that turned people into Partizans, but above all the action of the CPY in carrying out the uprising);
- iii. the influence of various Croat centers in the emigre community, which assisted the leftwing propaganda in breaking up the Great Serb policy (it is obvious that this factor is not of the same order of magnitude);
- iv. the realignment of the Croat and Muslim population on the Partizan side "unpunished" (this stressing of "unpunished" is significant, just as is the failure to mention that a portion of the Serbian masses who had been deceived by the Chetniks and still more were compelled by the terror later

enthusiastically flowed into the ranks of the National Liberation Struggle in large numbers, except for the anticommunist fanatics of the Chetnik leadership);

v. the dramatic outcome in the nationalistic portion of the Serbian people, as the author puts it, was not related to the national liberation struggle and the Partizans, but to the arrival of the Red Army, although the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia carried out the principal military showdown with the Chetniks before the Red Army crossed the Danube at Turn-Severin.

According to Djuretic, the conditions thus sketched out were more important than the fighting, patriotic and revolutionary action of the leading forces of the national liberation movement, and the heroic (with no overtones of pathos) efforts of the broad masses of people of all the nationalities of Yugoslavia. Others also had conditions for action of various kinds, but their can be no comparison in the scale and results of the movement. Incidentally, it turns out that these determinants and Stalin's thought were the decisive factor both of our deepest and broadest general national and revolutionary rebirth, which at one time the Informbiro actually asserted.

#### Epilogue

In this case there is no question of a summary of what has already been said, nor of a general assessment of the study. First, because in a partial analysis of this size it is superfluous to repeat anything in a briefer concluding version, and second, because the analysis of Djuretic's study is not all-inclusive so that a general and complete assessment might be based on it. The critical review has dealt with only some of the problems and content of the book which are most irritating both from the standpoint of the writing of history and also from the social and political standpoint, those which demand to be pointed up the earliest, and this has been done, of course, with no claim to have been right in all respects. Through this analysis, incomplete though it is, it is possible to assert with a great deal of confidence that the author entered into this research undertaking from defective positions, that his methodological orientation was mistaken, and that he arrived at many scientifically unacceptable and objectively unfounded assessments and conclusions. He has looked at history anew through a narrow nationalistic lens, preoccupied with heavy emotions about the tragic fate of the Serbian people which was threatened by an existential danger at one moment in history. With that orientation he was led to a situation of conceiving all Serbs as a national monolith and all equally at the service of destiny for their own national salvation. That is why scientific truth for him is that everyone who attacks the Chetniks and who opposes the other quislings is at the same time an opponent of the Serbian people. In Serbia people are all antifascists, the thesis goes, and the Serbian situation stands above all ideologies. That premise is also the basis for developing a pronouncedly chauvinistic complex with almost paranoid manifestations, especially concerning the Croats, and to some extent a suspicion toward the Partizan side as well. The extent of the author's shift from the objective positions indispensable to science is best shown by the fact that with the care and detail of a censor he has offered a survey and analysis of the propaganda of the national liberation movement during the war

(and it takes up a large portion of the space), accompanied by comments which most frequently come down to alleged intentions of tricking the world, while the propaganda of the so-called other antifascist movement, to which as he sees it all the quislings in Serbia belong, including the propaganda organs of the London government and the Chetnik emigre community in the United States--receives hardly a word. It is emphasized in the introduction that one of the aims of this undertaking was to strip away the propaganda overlay from the historic truth, which would signify that the quisling nationalistic propaganda was so truthful that no sort of subsequent corrections on behalf of scientific history can even be thought of.

The relations among the allies, which is the basis of the study, are made to serve the conceptions referred to and are viewed through the lens of the "Yugoslav drama," which is Yugoslav only in its name, in which the method used is that of broad and extensive exposition of the chronological and dynamic type, with comments that are in part shrewd and realistic, and in part fatiguing, ambiguous, and extremely biased. Put simply, everything comes down to Churchill and British diplomacy--through machinations, deceptions, and trickery worthy of a magician--having managed to be led astray and to be won over, while Stalin made virtuoso moves to bring our national liberation struggle onto the world scene until he ultimately managed to obtain its international recognition. The assessments which pertain to processes of this kind are intentionally burdened with a complex of suspicion toward the Croat emigre factor, although a portion of the criticism of their role does have its place.

It is possible that reviews of this two-volume book might also be under a certain influence of emotions, those emotions which are related to participants in the events and those which arise out of our situation today, which is characterized by the growth of nationalistic phenomena and chauvinistic passions. That is why scientific criticism, which certainly will continue, must place under its magnifying glass not only this study, but indeed all kinds of critical analyses on behalf of broad points of support for creating an objective general appraisal and possible corrections of partial judgments. It is certain that many other aspects of the book will also be contested, but probably parts will also be singled out to be given passing grades with a varying degree of value. Accordingly, the book is contradictory in the extent to which its author has wavered controversially between his own differing political, ideological, and traditional concepts. The historical truth will certainly be winnowed out from certain pseudoscientific burdens, but in no case, it is certain, will it be able to rescue and defend the book as a whole, for the simple reason, to state it allegorically, that a ship with several large holes cannot be saved from sinking.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Veselin Djuretic, "Saveznici i jugoslovenska ratna drama," Belgrade, 1985, Vol I, p 27.
2. Ibid., Vol II, pp 252-253.

3. "Povijest Saveza komunista Jugoslavije" [History of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia], Publication Center of Komunist, Narodna knjiga, and Rad, first edition, Belgrade, 1985, p 59.
4. Ibid., Vol II, pp 192-193.
5. Ibid., Vol I, pp 175-176.
6. Ibid., Vol I, p 146.
7. The author also extended his defense to the appeal to the Serbian people which was an instrument used for pacification by the German occupiers, wherein he has shown his full consistency (VREME, 13 August 1941).
8. In a letter dated 15 April 1945 to the lawyer Ranko Brasic carrying a message to Ante Pavelic and instructions for negotiations with him concerning a common struggle against the National Liberation Movement. Draza Mihailovic sent to "His Excellency" Pavelic gratitude for "kindness and the invitation," expressions "of respect," and the hope of keeping the "honorable word of a soldier," and a letter to Stepinac on the same date included the following: "Sending to you this request I like to believe that your Eminence is following in the steps of your great predecessors in responding to all of those historical duties and tasks which have been placed before Your Eminence...." ("Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o narodnooslobodilackom ratu naroda Jugoslavije" [Collection of Documents and Data on the National Liberation War of the Nationalities of Yugoslavia], Vol XIV, Book 4, pp 984-985, 989)
9. Incidentally, even the Chetnik leaders did not view their movement as antifascist nor against the occupiers, nor did they so term it!
10. V. Djuretic, op. cit., Vol I, p 146.
11. Ibid., Vol II, p 249.
12. "Povijest Saveza komunista Jugoslavije," p 288.
13. "V. Djuretic, op. cit., Vol II, p 189.
14. Ibid., Vol I, p 164.
15. Ibid., Vol II, pp 249-250.
16. Its spiritual captives in Montenegro and Hercegovina attempted to use Stalin's kolkhoz programs to drive the peasants all into the same pot.
17. V. Djuretic, op. cit., Vol II, p 250.

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